

By W. Cleon Skousen

THE COMMUNIST ATTACK ON U.S. POLICE



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Introduction

SCIENTIFIC MOBOCRACY — A NEW COMMUNIST TECHNIQUE AGAINST THE POLICE

“Fight the rats!”

This was the headline of a propaganda sheet scattered all over the strife-torn area of New York City during the siege of violent riots during 1964. I have one of these sheets in my possession. It carries as its sponsor a well-known militant front organization of the Communist Party.

The sheet says, "Rats are beasts that walk around in blue monkey-suits carrying clubs and guns and hitting people who are minding their own business, especially if they're black or Puerto Rican, while taking graft from the businessmen and pushers. These rats are called cops."

The official Communist Party hate campaign against the police of the United States is now reaching a full crescendo in many parts of the country. It is a concerted, well-organized broadside of unmitigated venom against those who have the responsibility of protecting life and property and preserving the peace.

The purpose of the campaign is to use a variety of devices to discredit, neutralize and eventually take over control of the police power of this country just as they have done in other nations prior to a major show of strength in violence and street fighting incidental to an attempted seizure of power. There is no doubt about the fact that the Communist Party is determined to ignite a revolution in the streets of American cities wherever inflammatory situations can be created. And there is no doubt about the intensity of the Communist attack on U. S. police so as to permit their revolutionary spirit to spread across the nation unhindered.

Several years ago the Federal Government issued a warning that this attack was coming.

Scientific Mobocracy — A New Communist Technique

On June 13, 1961, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee heard the testimony of Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., Inspector General on the staff of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington, D.C. At this hearing Mr. Kirkpatrick testified concerning a captured handbook which is an instructional manual for scientific mob-making. It has been distributed to Soviet agents and Communist Party activists throughout the free world.

This manual outlines in detail the procedure to be followed in leading a mob against the police. Numerous charts demonstrate how a police blockade can be smashed, how a milling crowd of unorganized marchers or protestors can be mobilized into an overwhelming force of organized violence, how the thin line of police protection in any given area can be overrun or outmaneuvered by a few well-trained agitators directing the movements of a crowd.

This manual and the accompanying testimony may be found photographically reproduced in the Appendix section of this book. It is called **A COMMUNIST PLOT AGAINST THE FREE WORLD POLICE**. In it will be seen exact replicas of the charts designed to outwit or overwhelm police resistance to mob action. These charts should be carefully studied. A police administrator will immediately recognize that even in our large metropolitan departments we are not adequately prepared for this type of "controlled" mob violence.

Whenever these Communist techniques have been applied in Communist-led riots of the past several years, the mobs invariably accomplished their objectives before the police could mobilize enough strength to disperse them. In the process, the police have always had to work under tremendous handicaps and have always suffered heavy losses before the violence could be stopped.

One of the favorite techniques of the Communists is to send in a small "action group" to engage the police in a minor diversionary struggle while the mob is led in another direction to accomplish its purposes. This tactic is also used to neutralize police action when officers confront a crowd. Selected "activists" each pick out individual officers and engage them in combat while the mob surges around the police blockade. Other methods include the badgering of police by one mob while another mob in a different section of town takes on the task which the Communist leaders have assigned to it.

In all of these situations it is contemplated that the crowds will be made up of people who have no idea they are helping the Communists do their work. For the most part, these mobs are composed of youth whom the Communists have conditioned with volatile propaganda so that when the leadership gives the signal they will be triggered into violent action. After it is all over the youth themselves often have difficulty understanding just how they allowed themselves to be used as tools for the destruction which ensued. They may be surprised to learn that it comes from the use of techniques of mob psychology which Communist strategists have developed to a high degree of diabolical efficiency.

Communist Target—Youth

So successful have the Communists been in exploiting the explosive energy of students and other youth groups that they have allocated an important segment of their money and time to gain control of key youth groups. J. Edgar Hoover published a special report to the nation which every law enforcement officer should read entitled, *Communist Target—Youth*. Said Mr. Hoover:

"Recent world events clearly reveal that world communism has launched a massive campaign to capture and maneuver youth and student groups." Mr. Hoover then gives a detailed analysis of the student riots in San Francisco during May, 1960, which were instigated, implemented and strategically controlled by a hard core Communist group in the Bay area. When the violence was over, the national officers of the Communist party congratulated their comrades in California "for the initiative and leadership they displayed at all stages of the demonstrations." This rioting had eventually involved several thousand students and local citizens who, for the most part, had no idea they were part of a Communist plot.

It is interesting to note that just the moment the rioting had been terminated the party leaders in Northern California got together and outlined a plan for abusing the San Francisco police by charging them with police brutality of every description.

Soviet Order to Concentrate on the Police Profession

When Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., of CIA testified before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee he stated that the instruction manual for Soviet agents had the following orders concerning the police:

First, make investigations and report on the activities of the police and security services.

Second, investigate and repress those security organizations which support the government.

Third, find ways to infiltrate into the police and security organizations to steal documents—particularly those recording their knowledge of communism—and to destroy everything of value.

Mr. Kirkpatrick pointed out that Soviet agents have found several effective ways to downgrade the police profession. They use their agents or sympathizers in the press to harp on certain themes:

1. The police cannot be trusted by the people.
2. The enlisted personnel of the police are mistreated by their supervisory officers.
3. The supervisory officers are corrupt and incompetent.
4. The police do not protect the people but use brutality and illegal methods to repress them.

Another method to paralyze police action has been to get Communist or fellow travelers into political office. This is done in such a way that the individuals involved are not known as Communists but as members of some legitimate political party. These individuals then go to work to either "rule or ruin" the police services in that area.

Anatomy of a Riot

Just to illustrate the overwhelming velocity of mob violence which can result from a carefully executed Communist riot plan, let us briefly examine one of the most successful and destructive riots the Communists ever carried out.

The eyes of the world were watching Bogota, Colombia, in April, 1948, because all of the nations of the western hemisphere were meeting for the Ninth Inter-American Conference. It was their intent to work out a program of mutual defense and mutual aid called the Organization of American States. For weeks the Colombian police had seen warning signals that the Soviet legation in Bogota was preparing for some type of major activity. Working through the local Communist Party and the front organizations it controlled, the Soviet agents were setting their stage of action. One of their leaders declared:

"The Pan-American Conference will be a capitalistic, imperialistic conference. Attempts should be made to block the progress of the Conference, but this should not be known as a

Communist activity. The party should refrain from open activity and avoid a situation which would result in curtailment of the party's function."

To prepare for action the Party outlined the following tasks which the members were asked to carry out:

- Organize mass meetings.

- Organize 60 meetings of cells in outlying districts.

- Recruit new members into the party.

- Organize 15 syndicates in unions.

- Organize party cells in all of the unions not already organized.

- Prepare and distribute 50,000 handbills.

- Put up 3,000 posters during the Pan-American Conference.

As a result of these massive preparations, a tidal wave of propaganda flooded Bogota. Much of it was designed as a strong attack against the United States. The remainder concentrated its attack on the conservative government of Colombia.

To carry out its program, the Soviet agents gathered around them their most expert Soviet "activists" from all over Latin America. One of the nine leaders among the activists was a young firebrand from Cuba named Fidel Castro.

The riots were triggered on April 9, 1948, a few days after the Inter-American Conference convened. This was accomplished by murdering George Gaitan, one of the most popular political figures in Colombia. This murder took place in downtown Bogota shortly after noon. Communist handbills, printed in advance, blamed the murder on the Government and urged the people to avenge themselves by sacking the city. Here is an eye-witness report:

"Fifteen minutes after the attack on Gaitan, all the radio broadcasting stations in Bogota were taken over by the Communists through workers and students. The radio stations were inciting the people to revolt against the Government, against the Conference, against Yankee imperialism, etc. Precise instructions were being issued to plunder arms deposits, hardware stores, and gunsmith's shops, the department stores, the Government buildings; the police precincts and the army barracks."

Mob violence spilled over in every direction. Police and military forces were overwhelmed. Alberto Nino, Security Chief of Colombia, reported that the Communists had a crew sweep through the city ahead of the mob, smashing off locks and opening stores and warehouses. After the mob had looted the buildings, another crew went through spraying gasoline on floors and

walls. The last stage was to have trained arsonists methodically burn these structures which ultimately destroyed the center of the city. Colleges, churches, stores and other public buildings were burned. Altogether, 136 major buildings were destroyed, representing a loss of more than \$21,000,000. After the battles between the police and the mobs had subsided, more than 1,000 corpses were left lying in the streets. Hundreds more had been carried off in the night.

Thus the police of Bogota reaped the whirlwind of a Communist inspired reign of terror. This was only the first of many outbursts which Moscow ordered its agents to carry out.

We pause to reflect on the ravages of the Bogota riot because it has become a classical pattern for communist-directed outbreaks which have since occurred in England, France, Belgium, Japan, Korea, the Congo, Bolivia, Venezuela, Guatemala, Mexico, Iran, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Italy, Vietnam, and now the United States.

What the United States saw in San Francisco in 1960 was a curtain-raiser for a series of riots which subsequently erupted and which have now begun to plague the nation from coast-to-coast. These riots are always followed by a barrage of propaganda against the police and an effort is made to center the whole blame for the carefully concocted upheaval directly on the heads of local law enforcement. This has had a more serious impact on the nation than many people have been willing to admit. It is extremely important that the general public and certainly the police profession understand what is happening. This force of subversive violence has won in many other nations already. Unless the American people are alerted in time, the Communists are confident they can win here.

It was to provide a better understanding of the problem that the contents of this book were first published as a series of articles in *LAW and ORDER*, the national independent police magazine. I wish to express my grateful appreciation to William C. Copp, the publisher of *LAW and ORDER*, for permission to reprint this material in book form.

W. Cleon Skousen

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Chapter One

THE COMMUNIST PLAN TO PARALYZE THE POLICE THROUGH CIVILIAN REVIEW BOARDS

“Watts was glorious!”

With a ringing cry of triumph, Communist leader Herbert Aptheker brought the First Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars to a roaring conclusion. The meeting was held September 11-12, 1965, on the campus of Columbia University in New York City.

In the shadows of the same stately towers where Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley and whole cadres of Columbia's students had been enrolled in the Communist conspiracy a generation before, there now convened on Columbia's campus the more recent vintage of America's conspiratorial enemy.

But avowed Communists were not the only ones present. They were flanked by a whole conglomerate of strangely assorted intellectuals who consider themselves part of the "Radical Socialist" entourage. Principal speakers included Professor Eugene D. Genovese of Rutgers University who said he would welcome a Communist victory in Viet Nam. There was Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale who was recently arrested in Washington, D.C., while crashing a police barricade to protest the war in Viet Nam. Another speaker was Conor O'Brien, former United Nations envoy to the Congo, the same Conor O'Brien who is said to have supervised the UN-sponsored attack against the people of Katanga in 1961. He spent his speaking time haranguing the United States for its "suppression of freedom." And then there were the purveyors of violence like Sylvester Leaks, devoted follower of the assassinated Malcolm X, who said American Negroes should "go to war now" and that their battle cry should be "Burn, Baby, Burn!"

Such was the mood and general makeup of the First Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars as they came to enjoy the hospitality of Columbia University and cheer Communist Herbert

Aptheker as he rose to deliver his supreme insult to peaceful America: "Watts was glorious!"

The Glory that was Watts

This writer saw the Watts riots and was there during the five long days and murderous nights of shooting, killing, looting and burning. The final tally went something like this:

KILLED: 37, including 2 white peace officers, 1 white fireman, 28 Negro civilians, 4 other civilians.

INJURED: 895, including 93 peace officers, 45 firemen, 10 National Guardsmen, 747 civilians.

ARRESTED: 4,070, most of them adults.

BUILDINGS BURNED: 787 damaged; 209 demolished.

PROPERTY DAMAGES: Fire damage alone estimated at more than \$50,000,000. Looting and vandalism added many additional millions.

POLICE AND NATIONAL GUARD COSTS: Estimated at half-a-million per day.

To appreciate the unmitigated triumph which Communist strategists attributed to this "glorious" achievement, compare Watts with the most serious race riots of previous years. All seven of the 1964 riots produced only 6 dead and 952 injured. Estimates of total damage ran to 8.5 million. During the famous 1943 riots in Detroit, 34 died, 700 were injured. The 1921 riots in Tulsa left 30 dead and several hundred injured. The 1919 riots in Chicago resulted in 38 killed, 537 injured. None of these came anywhere close to the dollar cost of the Watts riot.

Race Riots Pass through Three Stages

As with most race riots in which the Communists have a hand, the Watts riot passed through three stages. First, an "incident," in which the police were attacked while performing their legitimate duty. After three hours of complete quiet the second stage was launched. Almost as though on signal, violence suddenly flared across a 20-square-mile area. Before long, the presence of rioters with sound trucks, walkie-talkies and quantities of Molotov cocktails led the beleaguered police to comment, "This thing was organized in advance!" During the second stage the cry was "Get Whitey," and while mobs of several thousands roamed the streets looking for white skins the vast majority of the Negro population retreated to their homes in terrified bewilderment. And well they might for the third stage of this riot turned loose the full brunt of the mob's fury on the Negroes

themselves. Nearly 50 square miles of mob-controlled territory had to be blocked off by police and National Guardsmen.

Along the fringe, newsmen got some idea of what was going on deeper inside. Negro women were seen being hauled from their cars by Negro mobsters and on several occasions white citizens were seen rescuing Negro women from the assaults of the mob.

Communists Admit Spending Two Years to Foment Watts Riot

When Mayor Samuel W. Yorty promptly pinned part of the blame for this deadly and destructive insurrection on Communist leadership there was a loud cry of protests from the liberals and left-wing establishment clear across the nation. The Mayor's charges of Communist involvement were equated with "McCarthyism" and "irresponsible rightist extremism."

But the Communist leaders thought Watts was too "glorious" to keep it secret for long. On October 7, 1965, the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* reported a press conference with Michael Laski, member of the national Central Committee of the Communist Party, in which he boasted that his group had spent the last two years "toward agitation of the uprising" in Watts.

And that wasn't all. Mr. Laski said that his group had focussed its efforts primarily in a concentrated attack on the police. Their tactic was to continually circulate inflammatory hate literature against the police charging police brutality.

Thus there finally came into full view the open declaration of war by the Communist Party against the police. As with all wars, the subversive aspect had been in operation for many years, but now it became apparent that the battle would be fought in the open—defiantly, boastfully, brutally.

How the Climate Was Sweetened For Overt Communist Activity

Over a period of years, the police had been seeing symptoms indicating a resurgence of Communism. They noted that as the McCarran and Smith internal security laws were whittled down to mere shadows by a long series of Supreme Court decisions, the Communist leadership seemed to take heart. They began to prepare for a plunge into the open in a desperate attempt to capture some of the ground they had lost years ago when Americans learned about the extensive and disastrous subversion com-

mitted by Communists during World War II. Congressional Committees also were able to prove that the Communist Party was a disciplined agent of the Soviet Union and an integral part of the Soviet war machine. It was demonstrated that the purpose of the Communist Party is to spread poisonous hate, labor strife, class conflict and racial turmoil in order to foment internal tensions and nullify America's external resistance to Communist conquests in Europe, Asia and Latin America.

But the lessons of history are erased with the passing of time so that by 1960 Gus Hall felt that America had softened sufficiently to permit a new thrust of direct, overt Communist action. Moscow ordered an invasion of college campuses as part of this thrust in order to create a climate of tolerance for Communist organizations among the youth. Police officials were amazed to see Communist speakers getting on campuses when college administrators were beguiled and bewildered by the hackneyed cry for "academic freedom." At the very moment when American admirals, generals and congressmen were being kept off campuses because they were too "controversial," hard core Communist propagandists were allowed to practice their highly refined art of deceit on thousands of students across the continent!

The Communists were jubilant. Gus Hall then flooded his press outlets with announcements that the Communists and all loyal fellow travelers must seize militant control of the Civil Rights Movement and eliminate all "Uncle Toms" or other Negroes who advocated a gradual, peaceful transition for Negroes. Within their own circles Communist leaders boasted that before America even knew what was happening, revolution would erupt on the campuses and in the streets of major cities.

Why the War on U.S. Police Became Vital Communist Strategy

But from the beginning the Communists have known that in order to get a revolution ignited there must be violent mobs so overwhelmingly large that police power is smothered or else the police must be so paralyzed and discredited that smaller mob actions can succeed. The Communist war against the police was therefore launched on two fronts: one to create a potential for massive mob violence which would smother the police and another to set up machinery to paralyze the police.

On the first front, the coming campaign to foment massive mob action was clearly exposed in 1961 when investigators discovered that the Communist Party was distributing manuals to

its trained riot-makers describing the various ways to lead a mob so that it could overwhelm or circumvent any kind of police action.

On the second front, the campaign to discredit and paralyze the police was fired through a double-barreled shotgun. Through one barrel the Communists and their loyal followers fired a blast of hate propaganda against the police mingled with wild charges of police brutality. Through the other barrel they fired a passionate plea for *civilian* police review boards as the only way to protect the public from the "brutal police profession."

Why the Demand for Civilian Review Boards Caught On

The hate campaign against the police was a natural for Communist and left-wing propaganda purposes. Because the police are the authoritative symbol of law and order the American public is extremely sensitive to the slightest hint that they may be abusing their power. This is a healthy situation so long as the public is getting the true facts, but what happens when the people are fed a continuous and heavy propaganda diet of deliberate lies? Unfortunately, experience has proven that they are just as damaging on a temporary basis as though they were true.

Not only is public confidence shaken in the police by the poisonous hate campaign and the deliberate lies, but there is also the occasional incident when some police officer actually does use bad judgment. Whenever this happens the Communist-left-wing coalition snatches it up and joyfully proceeds to paint a grossly exaggerated version of the incident and present it to the public as being typical of all police. This is offered as proof positive that a band of uniformed blackguards are brutalizing the whole community and the only way to protect the public from their sadistic savagery is to immediately set up a *civilian* police review board.

In such an emotionally-charged atmosphere it is easy for professional politicians to suddenly decide that here is a wonderful campaign issue which could be made highly popular. They therefore seize upon the idea of a civilian review board and start blowing the Communist trumpet louder than the Communists themselves. This happened in the New York City mayoralty campaign during 1965. Even in the primaries, every single candidate came out for a civilian review board except one, William Buckley.

Of course, the whole basis for the argument that civilian

review boards should be set up is the rather fantastic illusion that (1) there is widespread police brutality, and (2) a civilian review board is the only way the people can protect themselves from police brutality.

They keep missing the point that when these wild charges are carefully investigated by the FBI or other responsible agencies they do, with very rare exceptions, turn out to be deliberate fabrications.

They also overlook the fact that every incorporated community and every county government in the United States *already has* elaborate machinery available—both administrative and judicial—to deal with any instances of abusive or illegal police activity.

The illusionary ignorance on the part of the public concerning this problem was vividly apparent during a recent debate.

A Debate on Civilian Review Boards

During July, 1965, one of the candidates for mayor of New York City asked this writer to debate him on civilian review boards. He took the position that a civilian review board was desperately needed in New York City. He made three points. He contended that if a citizen is the victim of police brutality he ought to have some place to go with his complaint. I agreed. Furthermore, he believed that there should be some established procedure to assure that any police officer guilty of police brutality is appropriately punished. I agreed with that also. Finally, he said it has always been part of the American tradition to keep the police under civilian control and therefore he could see no reason why anyone in his right senses would object to the creation of a *civilian* police review board in New York City.

To further emphasize the urgency for such a board, the candidate had brought with him several ministers all of whom joined the candidate in reciting some heart-rending accounts of police brutality. Their arguments were so logical, so simple. Why should anyone hesitate?

My reply to these arguments was likewise simple. I asked the gentlemen if any of them had taken the trouble to report these scandalous incidents to the *professional* police review board which New York already had in operation. *They reluctantly admitted they had not.* In fact, it appeared they didn't even know such a board existed. Then I asked them if they had been to the Police Commissioner, the Mayor, the City Council, the City Attorney, the District Attorney, the Grand Jury, the U.S. At-

torney or the FBI—all of whom, under existing laws, have remedial jurisdiction in complaints of this kind. *They once more said they had not.* They said they were waiting for a *civilian* review board to be set up so they could be assured of justice rather than a cover-up.

I then asked them if they had seen the report in the *New York Times* where a group of attorneys had recently surveyed the complaints received over a period of years by New York's professional review board and reported that this board had not only thoroughly ventilated all complaints brought to it, but that in those cases where officers appeared to be guilty of misconduct severe punishment had been meted out. *The candidate and his friends had not noticed this news item.* I then asked them if they were aware that J. Edgar Hoover had warned against civilian review boards because in those cities where they had been tried the police were professionally intimidated and during times of riots, literally paralyzed. *Once again, this warning had escaped their attention.*

At this point the moderator of the program took over the discussion to express amazement that candidates for public office would come out in favor of civilian police review boards when they obviously had no idea what they were talking about. The debate ended.

The following night when this writer was scheduled to speak at Town Hall, a large contingent of pickets carrying signs with the insignia of well known Communist fronts extended the length of one full block. It appeared that the debate had made its impact.

Why the Communists Invented the Program of Civilian Review Boards

It was during this same visit to New York that I spoke at length with Dr. Bella Dodd, former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party who defected in 1948. During this conversation I brought up the subject of police review boards and she stated that she was appalled at the success of the Communist Party and its cadre of fellow travelers in persuading New York politicians to accept the idea of a civilian police review board. I asked her how the idea originated and she said it was invented by the Communist Party in the 1930's when it was felt that the country was ripe for revolution. The idea was to somehow get the police out from under the control of elected officials and subject the police to the discipline of a "ci-

vilian" group which the Party could infiltrate and control. She stated that by this means they intended to mete out harsh and arbitrary punishment against the police *until they were intimidated into a benumbed, neutralized, impotent and non-functioning agency.*

Beginning with Philadelphia in 1958 a few cities concluded to experiment with the highly controversial idea of civilian police review boards. However, the results were soon devastatingly evident. Not only did the police find such boards to be guilty of biased decisions but the impact on police morale was so virulent that it left certain phases of police service an empty shell. In fact, when the Communist-inspired race riots broke out in 1964, it seemed significant that they were launched in some of these very cities. The Federal government ordered FBI Agents to investigate the riots in connection with national security problems and the FBI report should be an adequate warning to any city playing around with the idea of adopting a civilian review board. The FBI report said:

"Where there is an outside civilian review board the restraint of the police was so great that effective action against the rioters appeared to be impossible."

The FBI investigators found that, "In one city with such an outside review board, police action was so ineffective that the police were ordered to withdraw . . . limit themselves to attempting to prevent the riot from spreading. In another such city the police frankly admitted the making of arrests was 'unfeasible' and mob action continued without deterrence."

So the original Communist concept had worked. As Dr. Bella Dodd indicated in her conversation, no city can do its police a greater disservice than subjugate them to the intimidating influence of an unprofessional civilian police review board.

Chapter Two

THE COMMUNIST PLAN TO FIGHT THE POLICE THROUGH CIVIL RIGHTS RIOTS

*“The Communists are infiltrating
the Civil Rights Movement !”*

This was the conclusion of many police chiefs across the nation after investigating the rash of racial rioting which professional agitators had whipped into murderous violence between 1963 and 1966. Police saw legitimate Civil Rights leaders of the traditional "peaceful gradualist" school being rudely pushed aside by the new militant zealots, many of whom had Communist records or were closely associated with Communist causes of the past.

The accusation of Communist influence in the civil rights movement aroused an avalanche of protests from the radical left, also from liberal fellow travelers and from a number of politicians who had been portraying themselves as the only hope for the American Negro. They flatly denied the possibility of any significant Communist influence in the civil rights movement.

One of the loudest protestors against the charge of Communist influence was Martin Luther King, but his righteous posture of protest collapsed when it was revealed that his own secretary and immediate advisor for several years had been identified as none other than Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party!¹ Martin Luther King was also found to have been closely associated over a period of years with identified Communists of the most radical stripe including Anne and Carl Braden who had both been indicted by a Kentucky grand jury for their role in a plot to bomb a Negro home.²

After the Watts riots in California, the Governor's investigating commission did everything possible to minimize any "outside influence" but blamed the riots exclusively on "social conditions." However, it was immediately obvious that if "social

conditions" had caused the riots there would have been widespread participation by the whole community. The commission exposed the fallacy in its own argument by admitting that not more than 2% of the Watts population had participated. The presence of hard-core Communist mob-makers in the Watts riots was authoritatively confirmed by Michael Laski, member of the Communist Party Central Committee, who told a press conference that his group had spent the last two years "toward agitation of the uprising." He boasted that much of it had consisted in spreading propaganda against the police.³

Earlier, an attempt to cover up the Communist tentacles in the civil rights movement even went as high as the Attorney General's office. About the time a scandal broke revealing that Martin Luther King was being hauled about the country in an official car of the U. S. Department of Justice, the Attorney General, who was then Robert F. Kennedy, made the following statement: "Based on all available information from the FBI and other sources, we have no evidence that any of the top leaders of the major civil rights groups are Communists or Communist controlled. This is true as to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., about whom particular accusations were made, as well as other leaders."⁴ This statement was unfortunate in that it implied a clean bill of health for civil rights leaders while ignoring the fact that identified Communists from top dignitaries down were circulating all through the civil rights movement.

J. Edgar Hoover Sets the Record Straight

Shortly after the above statement, J. Edgar Hoover appeared before a committee of the U.S. Congress to give his own version of what was happening. Said he: "We do know that Communist influence does exist in the Negro movement and it is this influence which is vitally important. It can be the means through which large masses are caused to lose perspective on the issues involved and, without realizing it, succumb to the party's propaganda lures."⁵

Anyone who had been following the Communist press knew why Mr. Hoover considered the extent of Communist penetration into the civil rights ranks as "vitally important." Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party, had designated the take-over of civil rights as a top Party objective. In a manifesto to the Party, he had declared: "The Civil Rights front is that on which the main battles are being fought today. It must at all times receive our top attention."⁶

At a secret meeting in New York, Gus Hall outlined the purpose of the Communist drive for civil rights: "Hall ordered a concentration on the Negro struggle and outlined the tasks of the Communists. The picture, as sketched by Hall to the top Communist bosses, was to unite the Negro movement with the labor movement in a broad coalition. The party would play the leading or 'vanguard' role to promote its own interests and move toward a Communist take-over in the U.S."⁷

The Communist strategy was the classical device of manipulating demonstrations and tactics from backstage as a "rear vanguard." The Party was not asking for glory but for power; the power to make decisions on a broad united front. As leader Gus Hall had said: "Our Party can grow and can become an important political factor only if we firmly build its relations on a united front basis. . . . It is a process of joining hands, of uniting forces in struggle around specific issues. That means unity with trade unionists, liberals, socialists, Catholics, people of diverse political opinions . . . The united front must be a *way of life* for our Party, for each member and each club."⁸

Communism in Action

Even as early as 1961 Gus Hall had boasted that Communist cells had been planted in practically every dimension of American life. He said: "The problem is not one of sending people into organizations. Many are already there. The central question for us is to help our members, our clubs, our leaders, to carry on political activities where they are."⁹

Between 1961 and 1965 the American people had an opportunity to see what kind of "political activities" the Communists had in mind. Mob violence suddenly erupted in the streets of major cities. Most of it was built around a single theme: "Fight the cops!" In 1961 alone riots and mobs took a toll of 48 dead, 9,261 injured.¹⁰ By 1963 the Communist focus on mob violence in the name of civil rights was clearly evident and by 1965 the destruction of life and property had reached a peak unequalled since the days of the draft riots during the Civil War.

Police officials working subversive details watched the pattern of Communist manipulation. In the New York riots eighty incidents of violence were attributed by officials to Communist leadership.¹¹ Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee gave a speech in the Senate July 22, 1964, in which he itemized by name many of the known Communists and members of Communist fronts who had been arrested in

connection with recent mob action in San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, New York and St. Louis.¹²

Leaks from the inner circle of the Communist hierarchy exposed their immediate objectives:

1. To use civil rights demonstrations as a means of provoking violence and riots on the streets of target cities.
2. To blame these riots on "police brutality" thereby confusing the public and spreading a barrage of "hate the police" propaganda at the same time.
3. Frighten and isolate the Negro voter so that he will vote in a radical bloc for candidates who are prepared to scrap the Constitution and set up a "new order."
4. Get civil rights workers to demand civilian police review boards, a device invented by the Communist Party in the 'Thirties as a means of getting the police out from under the discipline and control of the people's elected officials.

Major Communist Weapons— Training Schools and Money

Historically, it is important to recall that for forty years the Communists have been providing training schools and money for the express purpose of making political captives out of America's Negro population.¹³ However, it was a bitter disappointment to the subversive agents of the Soviet to discover that American Negroes had no use for Communism and almost unanimously rejected it.¹⁴ The decision was therefore reached to go after them indirectly through "front" organizations. The idea was to get control of the Negro people in the name of religion, education and civil rights. Here are some of the best known fronts which have spawned agents of violence and subversion for one full generation:

People's Institute of Applied Religion. This institute was organized in the 1930's by the Communist Party to create the illusion that Christianity and Marxism can be equated together. As part of its program, this institute set up:

The Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas. It was organized around 1932 by identified Communist Dr. James A. Dombrowski and fellow traveler, Myles Horton. It was finally cited by the U.S. Attorney General as a Communist front¹⁵ and fined \$2,500 for violating the sedition statute of Arkansas.¹⁶ The faculty moved on to Monteagle, Tennessee, and organized:

The Highlander Folk School. In addition to Dombrowski and Horton, those assisting in its operation included Don West,

district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina¹⁷ and identified Communist Aubrey Williams who was once head of the National Youth Administration in New Deal days.¹⁸ It was at this Communist school that Martin Luther King appeared for a Labor Day seminar on civil rights in 1957. Photographs show top Communists such as Abner W. Berry appearing on the program along with King. Martin Luther King praised the work of the school and described identified Communist Aubrey Williams as "one of the noble personalities of our times."¹⁹ In 1955, when Mr. King conducted his now famous bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, he used Mrs. Rosa Parks to create the incident which launched the boycott. Rosa Parks was trained at the Highlander Folk School.²⁰ As of that time Mr. King had as his secretary the fervent advocate of socialist principles, Bayard Rustin, former Young Communist League member, who served time in a Federal penitentiary during World War II as a draft dodger²¹ and went to jail in 1953 after pleading guilty to a charge of sex perversion.²² Rustin has said that the only hope for the Negro is to "go left,"²³ and while in Richmond, Virginia, he told an audience that "more bloody Negro suffering should be encouraged so that the squeamish Northern Negroes would be horrified into line."²⁴ In 1957 the Communist Party invited Rustin to attend its 16th national convention as an "observer."²⁵ He is also known to have been socially entertained at the Soviet Embassy as well as having been a visitor to the Soviet Union.²⁶ Rustin remained the secretary of Martin Luther King until around 1960 when he was replaced by Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party.²⁷

By 1960 the Highlander Folk School had become so notorious for its open promotion of Communism and its advocacy of revolution to bring about a Soviet United States that the State of Tennessee closed the school down.²⁸ However, its faculty and sponsors soon set up a new institute called:

The Highlander Research and Education Center, Knoxville, Tennessee. It was organized on August 30, 1961, and in spite of the subversive reputation of its sponsors it was given Federal tax-exempt status as a recognized education institution with government approval.²⁹ However, by this time, its founders were deeply involved in another organization which was feeding collected funds into the various civil rights fronts in order to insure Communist domination. This organization had originally started out as:

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Identified Communist Dr. James A. Dombrowski became its administrator

and Paul Crouch, one of its founders and an admitted Communist from 1925 to 1942 testified that this organization "was intended to lead to class hatred, to race hatred, dividing class against class and race against race. . . ." ³⁰ The Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee exposed this organization, stating that it was "conceived, financed, and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote communism throughout the Southern States." ³¹ Once exposed, the Party allowed this organization to wither away and replaced it in 1946 with:

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. This new front continued to use the same address, the same publication and almost identical officers. Dombrowski continued to serve as administrator, Aubrey Williams remained on the board, and Anne and Carl Braden who had been indicted for conspiracy to bomb a Negro home were made the field secretaries.

After conducting an investigation, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee described this organization as the current Communist transmission belt for the South—the organization through which the Communists control non-Communist groups. This takes on particular significance when it is realized that the president of this organization is Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, the same Fred Shuttlesworth who serves as vice-president of Martin Luther King's organization! ³² Recently, Fred Shuttlesworth was under pressure to resign as pastor of a Cincinnati church being charged with misappropriating church funds and assuming absolute authority over all church property. ³³ Mr. Shuttlesworth previously served time in prison. ³⁴ He is associated with Martin Luther King through:

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mr. King is the head of this organization. Mr. Shuttlesworth is vice-president. A recent report by the Louisiana Joint Committee on Un-American Activities states: "The evidence before us shows clearly that Martin Luther King has very closely connected his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with the SCEF and the Communist personalities managing the SCEF." ³⁵ The Committee found that this same Communist front (SCEF) was also pouring money into and thereby controlling:

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. This organization is frequently referred to as SNICK because of its initials SNCC. The Joint Legislative Committee found that "The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee . . . is substantially under the influence of the Communist Party through the support and management given it by the Communists in SCEF." ³⁶

Another State legislative committee found similar evidence of Communist control over:

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). This organization has directly instigated more racial violence and disobedience than any other civil rights group. Its director has been James Farmer who, for many years, has earned his living as a professional pacifist. Nevertheless, he describes his CORE as "the hard-cutting edge of the civil rights movement" and says he is more militant than the assassinated Muslim, Malcolm X.³⁷ The Alabama legislative committee concluded after its investigation that CORE is "an important arm of the pro-Communist conspiracy and a dedicated agent working toward the sovietizing of America."³⁸

Conclusion

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In this brief summary it has been possible to present only the most obvious highlights connected with the Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement, nevertheless it will demonstrate why the police have found themselves confronted by wild-eyed professional mob-makers when riots and violence have broken out across the country. For a deeper insight into the problem the following will be helpful.

1. *It's Very Simple – The True Story of Civil Rights*, by Alan Stang, Western Islands publisher, 395 Concord Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, 02178. Price \$1.00 in paperback.

2. *Communism and Race in America*, by Herbert A. Philbrick and Dr. James D. Bales. This book may be obtained by writing to Dr. James D. Bales, Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas. Price, \$1.50 in paperback.

Official investigative reports can also be obtained by writing for "Literature available on the Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement." Letters should be addressed to:

1. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Washington, D.C.

2. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, D.C.

3. The Special Education Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council, State Capitol, Little Rock, Arkansas.

4. The Florida Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Florida.

5. The Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities in the State of Louisiana, Old State Capitol, Baton

Rouge, Louisiana.

6. Alabama Legislative Commission on Civil Rights, State Capitol, Montgomery, Alabama.

1. *Structure and Organization of the Communist Party of the United States* (1962) by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, p. 576.

2. "Dr. King's United Front," an editorial from the *Richmond News Leader*, Richmond, Virginia, September 27, 1963.

3. "Reds Claim Riot Credit," *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, October 7, 1965.

4. UPI release, July 26, 1963, inserted in the *Congressional Record* by Congressman John Bell Williams, July 31, 1963, p. A4881.

5. Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover before the House Appropriations Committee, January 29, 1964.

6. *Which Way USA 1964?* by Gus Hall, New York: New Century Publishers, 1964, p. 31.

7. Columnist Jack Lotto in the *Jackson News*, Jackson, Mississippi, November 9, 1963.

8. *The United States in Today's World*, by Gus Hall, New York: New Century Publishers, 1961, pp. 54-55.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

10. "Where Even Police Are Not Safe," *U.S. News and World Report*, October 9, 1961, p. 106.

11. *U.S. News and World Report*, August 3, 1964.

12. Speech of Senator James O. Eastland, *Congressional Record*, July 22, 1964, pp. 16036-40.

13. *Communism and Race in America* by Philbrick and Bales, Searcy, Ark., Bales Bookstore publisher, 1965, pp. 35-43.

14. Francis Franklin, "The Status of the Negro People in the Black Belt and How to Fight for the Right of Self Determination," *Political Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 5, p. 451.

15. *New York Times*, April 28, 1949, p. 6.

16. Report of the Louisiana Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, entitled *Activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund*, Part 1, p. 25.

17. *Testimony of Paul Crouch*, leading Communist Party official in the South at the time of these efforts. See House Committee on Un-American Activities, May 6, 1949, pp. 191-193.

18. *Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.*, Report of the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, p. 45.

19. Quoted in *FACTS*, Pasadena, Calif., Sept.-Oct., 1964 issue, p. 8.

20. *Testimony of J. B. Matthews*, given before the Florida Legislation Investigation Committee, Vol. 1, p. 24. See Footnote 14, Chapter 6.

21. *Allen-Scott Report*, August 16, 1963.

22. This information is recorded in the Pasadena Police Department under Mr. Rustin's official arrest number which is 33194.

23. *Richmond News-Leader*, Sept. 27, 1963, editorial.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Communist *Daily Worker*, Feb. 25, 1957, p. 1.

26. *Boston Globe*, Feb. 5, 1964.

27. Source is the same as number 1 above.

28. Alan Stang, *It's Very Simple—The True Story of Civil Rights*, Boston Western Islands publisher, 1965, p. 104.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Communism and Race in America*, p. 36.

31. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Report, *Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.*, p. v.
32. Louisiana Legislative Report on *The Southern Conference Educational Fund*, part 1, p. 13.
33. *New York Times*, August 26, 1965.
34. Louisiana Legislative Report on *The Southern Conference Educational Fund*, part 1, pp. 13-14.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Martin Mayer, "CORE: The Shock Troops of Revolt," *Saturday Evening Post* (November 21, 1964), pp. 79-80.
38. *U.S. News and World Report*, July 12, 1965.

Chapter Three

THE COMMUNIST PLAN TO FIGHT THE POLICE BY PROMOTING COLLEGE CAMPUS RIOTS

*"Communist cadres confront police
on college campuses!"*

This should have been the headlines from coast-to-coast during the recent "Get out of Vietnam" demonstrations which occurred across the country. At major universities police suddenly found the Communist leaders participating openly and brazenly in a new tactic designed to provide a vast show of strength.

Only a short time ago the Communist field generals shrewdly stayed in the background and manipulated student demonstrations or riots through intermediaries. Recently, however, things have changed. As soon as the Supreme Court ruled that identified Communists would not have to register as agents of the Soviet Union, Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party, ordered a whole new propaganda assault on the college sector so as to get a massive movement going among the nation's youth. When demonstrations occurred old-time Communist professionals started showing up in the front ranks. The police knew that eventually this would mean another series of direct confrontations between the forces of violence and those which preserve law and order.

So far the public seems unaware of this new conspiratorial dimension. An excellent opportunity to sound the alarm occurred during the Vietnam Day demonstrations. Nothing more was required than the photographing and publicizing of the Communist leadership which was prominently present and directing much of what was going on. Unfortunately, the press elected to call the demonstrations merely "protest groups," "pacifists," "anti-war groups" or "dissidents."

At the Berkeley demonstration, which was by far the biggest and apparently most important to the Communist strate-

gists, swarms of newspaper, radio and TV reporters watched complacently as the streams of international subversion swirled all around them. Ed Montgomery of the San Francisco *Chronicle* was asked if he thought the members of the press were sufficiently well-informed so they would recognize that the Communists were leading the demonstrations. "No, they're not," he replied. "They don't know these people when they see them. They walk right by them and don't know who they are." Mr. Montgomery said, "There is an impressive list of real hard-core people here. . . . They will talk for five minutes here and there giving instructions. They are in constant touch with each other. They're here for one purpose only."

That purpose was to give direction to ten thousand marchers protesting against America's resistance to Communist aggression in Vietnam. Marching in the demonstration were not only throngs of students but large members of faculty members, gangs of longshoreman from Harry Bridge's Communist-infiltrated labor union, and numerous local beatniks as well as radicals imported from as far away as New York. And then, as always, there were the fellow-travelers, the uninformed "joiners" and those whom J. Edgar Hoover calls "the dupes."

Actually, as a number of Congressmen have pointed out, there may be some very sound reasons why a discussion of a more forthright and successful waging of the war in Vietnam should be undertaken, but this suggestion was not intended to make room for those advocating a total Communist victory. Yet that was what the Vietnam demonstrations were all about. Marguerite Higgins interviewed Berkeley Professor Stephen Smale who served on the Vietnam Day Committee and asked him straight out, "Do you want Peking and Hanoi to win?" He quickly shot back, "Of course!"

One can understand why Communist leaders are jubilant. *They haven't had it so good in twenty years.* Professor Smale's fantastic reply brings to mind the statement of Georgi Dimitrov, General Secretary of the Communist International, to Eudocio Ravines: "As Soviet Power grows, there will be a greater aversion to Communist Parties everywhere . . . let our friends do the work. We must always remember that one sympathizer is generally worth more than a dozen militant communists. A university professor, who without being a party member lends himself to the Soviet Union, is worth more than a hundred men with Party cards."

The Report of the California Senate Sub-Committee

In order to better appreciate what is happening on the Communist "campus front," every police administrator should send for a copy of the latest report (1965) of the California Senate Factfinding Sub-Committee on Un-American Activities. Copies may be obtained by writing to Senator Hugh M. Burns, Chairman, State Capitol, Sacramento, California.

A careful study of this report will reveal six significant strategies now being successfully promoted by Communist leaders in an effort to create strong antagonism between any major university or college and its surrounding community:

1. Demand that the setting up of all rules and regulations be made the responsibility of the faculty and students, not the regents or administrators.

2. Demand that the enforcement of regulations and the imposition of penalties for all infractions be taken from the regents and administrators and turned over to committees of students and faculty members.

3. Permit uninhibited political activity on campus, including demonstrations and propagandizing on any issues.

4. Declare the campus to be a guaranteed sanctuary for complete and unrestricted freedom of expression including the printing and selling of pornography, using profanity and obscenity in speech, showing of films on abnormal sex activity, experimenting in the use of narcotics, etc.

5. Guarantee that there will be no security checks made on either students or faculty, or if unfavorable security information is received it will NOT be used as a basis for expelling students or rejecting applicants for faculty positions. (This is to lay the foundation for the employment of known Communist professors which is already being advocated at Berkeley.)

6. Demand that the campus be declared "off limits" *to both the police and the military.*

All of this is demanded in the name of "academic freedom" and "freedom of speech." It is described as the procedure for setting up a "free university."

The Fatal Doctrine of "Cogobierno"

As the California report points out (pp. 76-83), this whole package of demands is an exact replica of the doctrine of "Cogobierno" used throughout Latin America to turn universities into island fortresses from which subversive radicals can export both

propaganda and their cadres of violence and then quickly retreat to the sanctuary of the campus where the jurisdiction of the police and the military has been *legally* eliminated.

No one who has seen the turmoil which this device has created for the universities in Latin America can view this latest development in the United States without genuine alarm. This writer has seen the mockery which Communists have made of university life in those countries where the concept of "Cogobierno" has prevailed.

In Caracas, Venezuela, police and civilians have been shot down on the highway by snipers shooting with scopes from university dormitories. *No subsequent investigation was permitted lest it violate the sanctity of the campus.* In Lima, Peru, whole sections of the university's dormitory area have been expropriated by fanatical "professional" students, often 35 to 40 years of age, who belong to the Communist clique and whose dominion is referred to by other students as "Little Moscow."

At the University of Mexico, where 80,000 students make it the largest educational institution in the world and Communism is taught openly, the threat of frequent riots had to be met with counter-threats from the President stating that if any further outbursts occurred the campus would be immediately occupied by military forces and the university closed. These are the extremes to which countries have been compelled to go once the concept of "Cogobierno" or a "free university" takes root.

Formula for the Communist Conquest of a University

Security Officers have known for a long time that subversive elements in America have been zealously endeavoring to get their tentacles firmly fixed in major institutions of learning and make them "island fortresses" free from outside supervision or control. The California report documents the tactics followed in the nation's largest university at Berkeley. This program of subversion has been cultivated through the years on a broad spectrum involving the whole Communist-Socialist-Liberal coalition.

First, there has been a strong rebel element planted in the faculty. Second, they have used the most recent crop of second-generation Communists and Socialists (the sons and daughters of old-time comrades), to provide hard-core leadership among the students. Third, they have spent several years pushing "soft-on-Communism" personalities into key administrative positions of the University.

The Senate Factfinding Sub-Committee noted the name of faculty members with extensive histories in Communist projects and noted that many of them are still participating in Communist projects. One of the faculty leaders in the turmoil during both 1964 and 1965 was Leon Wofsy. Concerning him the California report stated: "There was no person during the entire history of the American Communist Party who played a more significant and successful role in organizing Communist youth throughout the country than Leon Wofsy." (p. 59). In 1956 he claimed to be disenchanted with Communism just in time to apply for a job with the university, but during the recent upheaval he was observed by the Committee to be right in there among the agitators (p. 114).

The Committee also took a long, hard look at the Chancellor of the University, Dr. Clarke Kerr, who, since 1958, has carried on an effective campaign to liberalize the University's policy on Communism. Under his direction the ban on Communist speakers was lifted. He eliminated the functions of a security officer on campus. He allowed Communist-oriented student groups to function on campus. He maintained a very close relationship with the faculty of the Communist school in San Francisco and employed a number of them on his staff. The Committee report stated: "We make no implication that there was any guilt by association, but we do make clear that many of Kerr's most intimate colleagues during these years were at the same time teaching at the Communist school and participating in a wide variety of pro-Communist activities. Some of them came to work at the Berkeley campus after Kerr became its Chancellor, and some found places with the Institute of Industrial Relations, which he headed."

The Communist Party Organizes the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs

The most significant radical youth organization to gain a foothold on the Berkeley campus during Dr. Kerr's administration has been the W. E. B. DuBois clubs. These are named for the only Negro among the top organizers of the original NAACP. Not until he was an old man did DuBois come out in the open and admit he was a dedicated Communist. He then renounced his U. S. citizenship and took up residence in Ghana where he coached its leaders in setting up a Communist-type of government administration (p. 36).

The W. E. B. DuBois Clubs came into existence under the

following circumstances according to a recent government report: "The Communist Party's general secretary, Gus Hall, ordered the formation of a new Marxist youth organization at a party meeting in October, 1963. Hall's orders were implemented when delegates were instructed to attend a conference in Chicago in December, 1963. At this conference, the delegates formulated plans for a national founding convention to be held in June, 1964. At this convention, held in San Francisco, the delegates adopted the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America as the name of the new Marxist youth organization and selected San Francisco as the site of its headquarters . . . Communist party members are active at all levels of the DuBois Clubs organization . . . Many sons and daughters of leading Communist Party members are asked to contribute funds for the DuBois Clubs: printing equipment for a Communist youth group has been turned over to the DuBois Clubs."

Top Communist official Herbert Aptheker whose daughter, Bettina, has been the most prominent activist in the DuBois Club agitation at Berkeley, openly boasted of the Communist origin of the DuBois Clubs when she attended the first Socialist Scholars Conference at Columbia University in September, 1965.

It was the DuBois Club and its closely allied group called SLATE which rammed through the student rebellion in 1964 and spearheaded the Filthy Speech Movement and Vietnam demonstrations in 1965. The close connection between these student groups and the rebel element of the faculty was vividly demonstrated following the arrest of nearly 800 demonstrators on orders of the Governor. The faculty rebels immediately started a campaign and raised \$8,000 to pay bail bondsmen their customary 10% so they would post bonds of \$80,000 and obtain the release of the arrested demonstrators. The California report states: "No sooner were the leaders of the student rebellion released from jail when they started planning more demonstrations and more acts of defiance." (p. 114)

An unauthorized faculty meeting was called by the rebels and approximately 1,000 professors responded. Resolutions passed at this meeting made demands on the university which closely parallel significant elements of the Communist "Cogobierno" type of "free university." Of course there were vehement denials that the Communists had anything to do with the rebellion which was launched in 1964 under the banner of the FSM—Free Speech Movement. However, the California report states that "there were experienced and disciplined members of the Communist movement deep in the heart of the FSM from

its very inception . . . The first issue of *Insurgent*, the DuBois Club organ, sneered at the idea that Communists actually exerted any influence in the student rebellion. The utter duplicity of this position is shown by the fact that the editor of the publication, Carl Bloice, is a Communist." (p. 151).

Conclusion

The case history of the subversion of the University of California is of tremendous importance to the law enforcement profession for several reasons. First, it is the launching of a program which the Communist Party will probably attempt to duplicate on many major campuses across the country. Second, it is the initiation of a campaign to turn American colleges and universities into *island fortresses* from which the most fanatical subversive elements can operate free of police jurisdiction and free of community or State control. Third, the Communists are now forcing themselves to the forefront on college and university campuses which can only mean a direct and continuous confrontation with law enforcement from here on out. Fourth, the Communists know that the public image of the police is more vulnerable to smear tactics during a confrontation with youth than at almost any other time.

Chapter Four

THE COMMUNIST PLAN

TO FIGHT THE POLICE

THROUGH

MISGUIDED MINISTERS

“Should a minister practice civil disobedience?”

Apparently 99% of America's 200,000 ministers agree with the Apostle Paul when he admonished Titus saying, "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to do every good work. To speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, shewing all meekness unto all men." (Titus 3:1-2)

To "be no brawlers" but men of peace and good will is the quality which has given professional churchmen the reputation for being the most important single solidifying force for law and order in most communities. Through the years clergymen have filled the role of moderators in disputes and counselors in times of conflict. They have been the professional policeman's best friend and helped immeasurably to establish the great American tradition of "orderly change by peaceful means."

It is therefore in this historical frame of reference that the question has been recently raised, "Should a minister practice civil disobedience?" Apparently, to the overwhelming majority of the American clergy, this is like asking, "Should a clergyman desert the ministry?" for in terms of Paul's preaching, civil disobedience does violence to the very essence of the ministerial calling.

And this is exactly the way the public appears to have reacted to those few ministers who have recently elected to get themselves involved with lawless elements and physically participate in a variety of public brawlings. The feelings of both public and press were reflected in an editorial of the *Chicago Tribune* which was published July 1, 1965:

"... we find it difficult to understand why clergymen who support such wild talk and wild demands think they are helping

their churches or contributing to the cause of religion. Among the elements of religion are order, authority, charity and peace and we find none of these in campaigns of civil insurrection. Of 441 persons arrested in recent street disturbances here, 61 of the adult males—26 per cent—were clergymen . . . Is respect for the clergy enhanced when citizens see its representatives lying in the dust at State and Madison Streets with hands linked to agitators who would *refuse to be appeased even if the social order of the whole city was uprooted in conformance with their dictates?*”

Who are these “agitators who would refuse to be appeased even if the social order of the whole city was uprooted?” Among others, the *Chicago Tribune* was no doubt referring to the hard-core rabble-rousers whom the Communist Party has since boasted of planting in these particular demonstrations. The presence of these clerics in a movement designed to disrupt the peace of the community not only gave aid and comfort to the forces of violence but compounded the task of police officers assigned to the disturbance. During the past year it has been common-place to hear officers say, “I don’t mind dealing with a mob of trouble-makers or criminals, but I’m not used to arresting ministers!”

Judging a Tree by Its Fruits

However a, closer scrutiny of some of these “ministers” has caused policemen to consider the possible application of the scriptural warning, “beware of wolves in sheep’s clothing.” When arrested some of these ministers expressed sentiments and reflected attitudes which were the antithesis of traditional clergymen. And this was true even though they were found to have acquired bona fide status as clergymen. Nevertheless, the element of wonder persisted because the fruit of the tree did not fit the label it wore.

Were these bona fide men of religion or counterfeits masquerading behind the facade of their church to accomplish purposes completely inimical to the ministerial calling? It hadn’t been but a dozen years or so since Congressional committees had investigated the Communist attack on the churches and issued a warning that here and there a beachhead of subversion had been established on the clerical front. This had been achieved, not by conversion, but by infiltration. As one government official put it, “Ministers don’t become Communists, but Communists become ministers.”

J. Edgar Hoover Issues a Warning

In 1958, J. Edgar Hoover published his well-known book,

Masters of Deceit, which became a best-seller and helped alert Americans to the fact that none of our institutions, not even our churches, are impervious to some degree of direct and sometimes successful assault. He explained what a monumental victory it would be if the Party could maneuver some of its agents or fellow travelers into a position where they could use the good offices of the churches to cover the tactics and machinations of revolutionary, atheistic Communism. "In line with these tactics," he wrote, "the Party is today engaged in a systematic program to infiltrate American religious groups." (p. 324)

Mr. Hoover stated that for propaganda purposes the Party was playing down its traditional hostility to religion and struggling to create a climate of fellowship with the churches. He quoted the manifesto of the Party's National Committee stating that, "The Communist Party declares that it seeks no conflict with any church or any American's religious belief. On the contrary, we stretch out our hand in the fellowship of common struggle for our mutual goals of peace, democracy and security to all regardless of religious belief." (pp. 324-325) This policy of fellowship with the churches is called a "practical approach."

Mr. Hoover says, "This 'practical approach' means attempting, through deceptive tactics, to capture support from American religious groups for an atheistic Communist Party." (p. 324) Fortunately, the vast majority of the nation's clergymen rapidly saw through the hypocritical sham of this Communist scheme and rejected such "fellowship." Here and there, however, the party began to establish bases of influence and Mr. Hoover comments, "Any successes make the comrades diabolically happy." (p. 326)

That there had been some infiltration and influence in the churches did become apparent when parents in certain congregations were suddenly shocked to discover that their youth were being taught NOT to believe the Bible, NOT to believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ, and NOT to feel guilt or remorse for violating the basic precepts of Christian morality. They discovered that a pamphlet issued in the name of one of the most influential ministerial organizations openly advocated pre-marital relations. They also discovered a recommended reading list including books so filled with filth that they sounded more like Freud's preoccupation with sex than a Christian's preoccupation with the spiritual and physical improvement of mankind. Among the "approved" authors appearing on this list were known Communists such as Herbert Aptheker and writers like Langston Hughes who wrote, "Put one more S in the US(S)A, to make

it Soviet." He also wrote the poem which closes with the line, "Goodbye Christ, Good Morning Revolution." Legitimate ministers and members of congregations began to demand some kind of inquiry into the source of this propaganda pollution.

Subversion of Religion Investigated by Congress

It was in the early 1950's after some of the top leaders of the Communist conspiracy had become disillusioned and abandoned the Party, that the problem of Communist penetration into the churches began to be genuinely appreciated. Testifying under oath, former key Communist strategists such as Benjamin Gitlow, Manning Johnson, Leonard Patterson and Joseph Zack Kornfeder commenced to reveal what they knew to Congressional investigating committees.

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Manning Johnson, who, until he defected, was the most important Negro Communist in the United States, gave this summary of the Communist strategy to subvert American religious bodies:

"In the earliest stages it was determined that with only small forces available it would be necessary to concentrate Communist agents in the seminaries and divinity schools. The practical conclusion drawn by the Red leaders was that these institutions would make it possible for a small Communist minority to influence the ideology of future clergymen in the paths most conducive to Communist purposes.

"In general, the idea was to divert the emphasis of clerical thinking from the spiritual to the material and political — by political, of course, is meant politics based on Communist doctrine of conquest and power . . .

"The Communists had some small forces in the seminaries under the leadership of Harry F. Ward. These were quickly augmented by additional recruits and siphoned into the divinity institutions by manipulations of Communist cells in the seminaries . . .

"The plan was to make the seminaries the neck of a funnel through which thousands of potential clergymen would issue forth, carrying with them, in varying degrees, an ideology and slant which would aid in neutralizing the anti-Communist character of the church and also to use the clergy to spearhead important Communist projects.

"This policy was successful beyond even Communist expectations. The combination of Communist clergymen, clergymen with pro-Communist ideology, plus thousands of clergymen who

were sold the principle of considering Communist causes as progressive, within 20 years furnished the Soviet apparatus with a machine which was used as a religious cover for the overall Communist operation ranging from immediate demands to actually furnishing aid in espionage and outright treason." (Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area, HCUA report, 1953, p. 2278)

Dr. Harry F. Ward Identified as Key Communist Clergyman

All four of the witnesses emphasized the national scope of Dr. Harry F. Ward's widespread influence. They identified him as a longtime member of the Communist Party. Manning Johnson said, "I would say that he is the Red Dean of the Communist Party in the religious field." (p. 2169) Leonard Patterson confirmed that Dr. Ward was not only a Communist with whom he had personally worked but "a very important member of the Communist party." (p. 2138) Gitlow and Kornfeder gave similar statements. (pp. 2075; 2057) The witnesses also identified other leading Communists posing as Christian ministers who worked with Dr. Ward. (p. 2077)

At the ninth national convention of the Communist Party, Earl Browder, former head of the Party, poured extravagant accolades on the head of Dr. Ward saying that he would "always receive the unstinted recognition and support of the Communist Party."

All of this became of singular importance because of the influential positions Dr. Harry F. Ward occupied. First and foremost, he was identified as the key Communist cog at the Union Theological Seminary in New York and also at a major theological seminary in Boston where he taught "Christian Ethics." Testimony indicated he was chairman of the most important Communist front the Party ever created, The American League Against War and Fascism, and he continued to serve as chairman when the name was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy. Manning Johnson testified that the League was the pipeline into the churches: "There was no other Communist Party front in all the solar system of organizations of the Communist Party that involved so many ministers, churches, and religious organizations. In fact, this organization was the key to the infiltration of the church, and as a result of the successful infiltration and penetration they were able to involve these ministers in every other Communist front through

the years even down to the present time.” (p. 2170)

Dr. Harry F. Ward was one of the founders and served as the chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union from 1920 to 1940. He was founder and general secretary of the Methodist Federation of Social Service from 1911 to 1944. He wrote more than fifteen books, many of them hammering the Soviet and domestic Communist line. In 1924 he went to the Soviet Union and spent 1925 touring China with a series of pro-Soviet speeches. He spent 1931 in Russia and came home to write his book, *In Place of Profit*. In the '30's he was the founder and leader in the People's Institute of Applied Religion, cited by the Attorney General as a Communist front and subversive organization.

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In 1953, Leonard Patterson testified: “While I was in Baltimore, two members who had graduated from Dr. Ward’s Seminary came down to Baltimore for assignment to their ministerial duties; at the same time they came for assignment for their Communist duties from the section committee of the Baltimore section of the Communist Party. They were Party members when they got there. They explained that they were recruited as Party members by Dr. Ward while they were studying under him.” (HCUA Report, Op. Cit., p. 2142)

Karl Prussion, who was a Communist operator for a number of years, told the writer that Harry Ward came to a cell meeting to which Prussion belonged and instructed him as a member of the Party to enroll at the Union Theological Seminary so he could be ordained a protestant minister. Prussion stated that the Party subsequently decided to send him to San Francisco instead, but this experience impressed him with the technique the Party was using in an effort to infiltrate protestant churches.

The Fruits of Subversion

Experience has demonstrated that Communist influence in the religious field is most vividly apparent in those situations where there is a clear-cut issue between freedom on the one hand and a Communist conquest on the other. The ministerial hard-core consistently turn up on the Soviet or Communist rooting team along with all others they can influence to follow them. The same will be true whenever a Communist is convicted of espionage or violating a security law. The ministerial hard-core will lavish time and money on appeals and petitions of clemency.

When the United States sends its armed forces into the field to hold back the juggernaut of brutal Communist genocide the

ministerial hard-core does everything in its power to put the good offices of their churches behind a blatant demand for the withdrawal of our troops and a declaration of peace at the price of another few million suffering human beings. The specter of men flagrantly masquerading as ministers of the gospel while laboring day and night to promote the Biblical "abomination of desolation" is one of the grotesque contradictions of our time.

No wonder law enforcement officers are puzzled to read full-page ads signed by ministers denouncing America's freedom fight in Vietnam and demanding that 14,000,000 South Vietnamese be abandoned to their Communist fate. As J. Edgar Hoover has indicated, such successes in subversion make Soviet leaders and their American comrades "diabolically happy."

Jonathan Daniels—A Case Study

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In closing let us briefly relate the saga of a confused young ministerial student who suddenly showed up in Selma, Alabama. His name was Jonathan Daniels.

"Jon," as he liked to be called, was a star student who was graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1961 as the valedictorian of his class. All reports indicate that in those days he was a normal, well-adjusted young man and a Christian with fundamental convictions.

In 1962 he enrolled in the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Cambridge. As part of his training he took "Social Ethics" from a teacher identified by undercover FBI agent Herbert Philbrick as one of the ministers with whom he worked on a number of Communist projects several years ago. This teacher began to have a great influence on young Jonathan Daniels.

In the spring of 1965, young Daniels took leave of absence from his seminary and, wearing an authorized clerical collar and garb, appeared as a protest marcher in Selma, Alabama. A friend of the writer, Dr. Robert Henderson, who had established a medical practice in Selma and was deeply interested in the civil rights movement, invited Jonathan Daniels to his home for dinner. Dr. Henderson's subsequent deposition reflects the shock which he and his family felt when they discovered what had happened to the personality of this young ministerial student.

Daniels arrived at the doctor's home neatly attired in sports clothes but his demeanor and speech were sharply out of character with both his appearance and his background. He referred to both Dr. Henderson and his wife as "baby." In the presence of the doctor's family he used four-letter gutter words. The

doctor started to reprimand him but decided to see just how far he would go. At the dinner table, Daniels said: "You know, I won't be eating food like this much longer." And then he added, "But neither will you." He said a great revolution was coming.

During the conversation Daniels said he was a Christian Marxist who believed that the Constitution was a "mere scrap of paper" and "completely worthless." In referring to the American founding fathers he said, "They were fascists." He then added, "I have two hundred years of sophistication and education to teach me how wrong these fascists were when they wrote the Constitution."

When asked to define a "Christian Marxist" Daniels said it is "one who believes that Karl Marx takes over where Jesus Christ left off."

Dr. Henderson then asked him if he meant to imply that with beliefs such as these he intended to enter the pulpit of his church after graduation and assume to represent the Christian ministry. Daniels replied, "Myself, and many more like me."

After young Daniels had gone, Dr. Henderson pondered the meaning of that evening's amazing events. What had happened to this intelligent, idealistic, American valedictorian who went to a theological seminary and even before graduation turned into a beatnik-talking, anti-American, anti-Christian? And what of those "many more like me" that Daniels talked about? Were they among the clergymen arrested for lawlessness during the upheaval at Berkeley, Chicago, New York or St. Augustine? Furthermore, what was a teacher doing at a theological seminary whose activities had long since been exposed as subversive and anti-American? Dr. Henderson sensed that something corrosive and ugly was spawning on America's homefront.

Conclusion

So in these strange days when law enforcement officers are compelled to deal with community disturbances which presently plague certain parts of the country, it is helpful to keep in mind the many facets of the problem which complicates the officer's task.

Not the least of these is the role of the highly volatile professional cadres of the international Communist conspiracy which exploit by every means possible the slightest occasion for social tension wherever it arises. Among those who collaborate with these will be found the occasional group of individuals who claim or imply that they represent the ministerial good offices

of some religious body. As some of these go through their antics by which they scandalize both themselves and their churches, it is good to remember that these are the mavericks, the counterfeits, the betrayers of Paul. If they are shocking to policemen and the *Chicago Tribune*, think how much more shocking they are to 200,000 legitimate ministers with whom these queer characters claim to be identified.

The task of the officer is to perform his duty knowing as he does so that he has the blessing and support of all those traditional churchmen who abhor violence and deplore "brawlers."

Chapter Five

THE COMMUNIST PLAN TO FIGHT THE POLICE WITH AMERICAN SOCIALISTS

*“What is the difference between
a Communist and a Socialist?”*

Police personnel dealing with recent riots and community disturbances report that only rarely do arrested insurrectionists admit being Communists. They usually proclaim themselves to be "Socialists," "Marxist Socialists," "Labor Socialists," or "Socialist Revolutionaries."

At the same time these officers have noted that when identified Communists do participate in demonstrations or community violence these so-called "Socialists" are very responsive to the strategy, orders and tactics emanating from the Communist leadership.

The question therefore automatically arises, "What is the relationship between Communists and Socialists? Is there a difference or do they represent two facets of the same thing?"

A Reporter Sets Out To Find the Answer

Just before the rash of riots broke out in 1965, the *Saturday Evening Post* published an article called "Explosive Revival of the Far Left." The author, Richard Armstrong, had spent five months interviewing both youth and adults of the radical stripe trying to discover what made them click. He talked to life-long Communists and he talked to people calling themselves Democratic Socialists, Socialist Workers Party members, Young Socialist Alliance members, Progressive Labor Movement members, and Students for a Democratic Society, etc.

Mr. Armstrong discovered that some of these "Socialists" were demanding more direct action and naked violence than the domestic Communists. Wrote Armstrong, "Their principal hero is Fidel Castro, and after that Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, Mao Tse-tung of Communist China and Ho Chi Minh of North Viet-

nam." (*Saturday Evening Post*, May 8, 1965, p. 29)

Other Socialists interviewed by Armstrong deplored violence but agreed with the ultimate goals of those they deplored. It was simply a question of whether those goals should be attained by pressure and propaganda or by revolution and riots. Nevertheless, as policemen themselves observed, no matter how badly these various factions split and quarrel over tactics they tend to unite into one big happy family whenever the signal goes out for a demonstration, placing a protest ad in the paper, or pressuring Congress for some pet project which has Socialist implications.

This, then, leads to the question, "What do the Socialists want?"

The Basic Principles of Socialist Thought

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The classical definition of Socialism is "Government ownership or control of all means of production and distribution." Essentially, this means:

1. The elimination of private ownership or control of farms, factories, transportation and natural resources.
2. The transfer of responsibility from the individual to the government for the supplying of all basic needs.
3. Eliminating the supplying of human needs "for a reward" as is done under the profit system of a free-market, competitive society.
4. Eliminating private planning in nearly all areas and replacing it with government planning enforced by compulsory means where necessary.
5. Eliminating private investment and private sources of credit.
6. Setting up a government monopoly for the discovery, development and distribution of resources such as oil, water, electrical power, minerals, timbers, chemicals and metals.

Socialist writers from Plato to Marx knew these policies would be resisted since they conflict with the most fundamental aspirations of human nature. They therefore resolved to overcome such resistance by using opinion molding where possible, using force where necessary. Socialists therefore strive through direct governmental interference or by heavy infiltration to control schools, press, radio, TV, religious institutions and even reduce or completely eliminate the influence of the family (as advocated in the Communist Manifesto and the Fabian Essays on Socialism).

It will be seen that Socialism is fundamentally a campaign

to concentrate and acquire power over people and property. It is designed to set up an elite corps of governmental administrators with power to make decisions politically, economically and socially. This therefore explains the hostility which Socialists feel toward the American Constitution or any other constitution which provide separation of powers, checks and balances, dispersion of authority and the restriction of government activity to specifically delegated areas.

The American founding fathers were well acquainted with the principles of Socialistic thought which were being widely advocated even in their day. Samuel Adams therefore declared: "The Utopian schemes of leveling, and a community of goods, are as visionary and impracticable as those which vest all property in the Crown," and then he concludes that such principles "are arbitrary, despotic, and *in our government unconstitutional.*" (Quoted in *Christian History of the Constitution*, by Verna Hall, p. 248-A.)

A warning against delegating dictatorial authority to government also came from the clerk of the Constitutional Convention, James Madison: "Where an excess of power prevails, property of no sort is duly respected. No man is safe in his opinions, his faculties or his possessions." (Ibid.)

Principle Methods Used To Set Up Socialist Dictatorships

During the past century several campaigns have been launched to create Socialist dictatorships of one kind or another. At first the advocates of Socialism like Fourier, St. Simon, Owen and Cabet, thought that its principles would work on a voluntary basis. When these experiments collapsed Karl Marx called these men "Utopian" and said he would make Socialism work by putting it under a "dictatorship of the proletariat" with all the force of military might behind it. To distinguish his form of Socialism from that of the "Utopians," Marx called his program "Communism" but it was explained in the 1872 edition of the Communist Manifesto that this was purely for clarification purposes and that "Socialism" would more accurately describe what was being advocated. Under the Communist version of Socialism, Marx prescribed the use of violent revolution and conspiratorial intrigue to overthrow all existing governments and immediately set up an international dictatorship.

This program was stopped dead in its tracks in 1851, three years after the Communist Manifesto, when the Communist Party was outlawed on the continent of Europe. Marx was one

of the few leaders who escaped from going to jail by fleeing to England.

For Marx the next ten years were virtually sterile, then he came up with a substitute program. If he could not set up a Socialist dictatorship by revolutionary means perhaps he could do it by democratic means. His idea was somehow to capture the labor vote and use it to elect individuals who would create the dictatorial power structure which Marx had visualized. This scheme was called *Democratic Socialism*. It spread all over Europe.

In England the Democratic Socialists adopted the name of *Fabians* to obscure their real intentions but eventually they became known as *Fabian Socialists*. It was this group which was the most successful in bringing Marxism to the United States and demanded that the government expropriate all the farms and basic industries. At first the Democratic Socialists gained little attention but by making extravagant promises and concentrating on specific issues they finally planted many of their disciples in practically every dimension of the American culture. Their object was to use pressure, propaganda and the democratic process to "gradually" socialize the United States.

The Relationship Between Socialists and Communists

In 1921 the more impatient U.S. Socialists broke away and formed the Communist Party with demands that Constitutional government be overthrown and a U.S. Socialist dictatorship adopted forthwith. This rise of Communism as a splinter group from the Socialist cadre occurred in European and Latin American countries also. Historically, this explains the close affinity which naturally exists between Socialists and Communists. Socialists do not look upon Communists as enemies but merely as over-zealous allies who are too impatient. The idea is to get the Communists to "mellow" and become good Democratic Socialists.

This outlook has made Democratic Socialists extremely vulnerable, even gullible, when dealing with Communists. The Communists have recognized this vulnerability and therefore used "united front" tactics on them. For years they have employed the facade of the Socialists to do much of their dirty work. This led Ivor Thomas, former Socialist member of the British Parliament, to write a book vigorously warning the free West what the Socialists were doing to facilitate Communist conquests all over the world. He wrote:

"Where there has been a decisive test, the history of Europe provides no confirmation of the view that socialism can be an effective barrier to communism. On the contrary, the experience of many countries is that *socialism has prepared the way for communism*. Socialists have first undermined the effective (legal and constitutional) barriers to communism; and when the communists have struck at them, the socialists have offered no effective resistance and in some cases have joined hands with the communists." (*The Socialist Tragedy*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1951, p. 41)

Other studies have shown that since World War II, the Socialist element in the free world continually consorted with the Communist leadership to give it breathing space, undeserved respectability and volumes of material and political support. All of this led the well known ex-Marxist, Max Eastman, to write: "Almost everyone who cares earnestly about freedom is aroused against the Communists. But it is not only the Communists, *it is in a more subtle way the Socialists who are blocking the efforts of the free world to recover its poise and its once-firm resistance to tyranny.*" *Reflections on the Failure of Socialism*, New York: Devin-Adair, 1962, p. 23)

Everywhere the Communists gain a foothold it seems to follow a Socialist softening-up together with substantial support from the Socialist faction of not only the country involved but the major powers as well. This was true in the Communist conquest of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. It was true in the fall of China and Cuba. Communist stooges recently thrown out of power in Africa, Indonesia and Latin America were all originally promoted into power by the Socialist faction of the U.S. and British governments. This is the historical basis for the sweeping declaration of ex-Marxist Max Eastman that it is "the Socialists who are blocking the efforts of the free world to recover its poise and its once-firm resistance to tyranny."

An official statement issued by the Communist world conference in 1960 stated, "Communists regard Social Democrats among the working people as their class brothers. . . . The vital interests of the working class movement demand that the Communists and Social Democratic Parties take joint action on a national and international scale. . . ." (Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee report, "Communist and Workers' Parties Manifesto Adopted November-December, 1960," p. 92)

The pro-Socialist elements seem equally anxious to collaborate most of the time with the Communists. In the United States, pro-Socialist mentalities have had a profound influence

on U.S. foreign policy, especially in dealing with the Soviet Union. Many of the most serious miscalculations and diplomatic blunders were deliberately committed by men in highly sensitive positions who refused to look upon world Communism as an enemy but considered it merely as an over-zealous partner which must be forced to cooperate in socializing the world.

Conclusion

60 In the light of past experience there should be no cause for wonderment concerning the continued collaboration, cooperation and camaraderie between hard-core Communists and dedicated Socialists. As Richard Armstrong discovered, some of the Socialist factions are demanding more violence than even the Communists. They practice anarchy at home and say they do not want the U. S. freedom fighters to win abroad. They invite top Communist theoretician, Herbert Aptheker, to wind up the First Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars at Columbia University and then roar with approval when he says, "Watts was glorious!"

They burn their draft cards, ridicule the U.S. armed services as "imperialistic" and organize teach-ins where one speaker, William McAadoo, recently told a UCLA rally: "We have resolved that instead of killing our brothers in South Vietnam, that we will turn our guns on the real enemy—on the imperialistic generals (meaning U.S. generals, of course), and if they try to resist, shoot them down. Do you understand what I mean? Shoot them down." (The Freedom Press, Los Angeles, March 31, 1966, p. 1)

As the 1960 Communist declaration provided, here is simply another of those situations where "the Communist and Social Democratic Parties take joint action on a national and international scale."

Chapter Six

THE NEED OF THE

HOUR: SUPPORT YOUR

LOCAL POLICE

“Chief, how can we help?”

Recently, a startled chief of police was confronted by a group of prominent citizens from his community who asked him this question. He was startled because this had never happened to him before. Committees usually came to complain rather than ask how they can help. For a moment even the chief was a little baffled as to just what he should say. After all, how *can* a group of private citizens help a department when it is under violent attack by a local cadre of fanatical radicals? As he thought about it, however, several things occurred to the chief.

"Our problem," said the chief, "is getting the facts to the people."

"What about the press?" asked a citizen.

"Well, it's a funny thing," the chief replied. "Charges against the police always seem to be bigger news than my replies. It is amazing how little space we get after I have dug up the facts and issued a report on what really happened."

The chief was then asked about other pressing problems.

"Basically, there are three," he said. "First, is the continuous barrage of false charges alleging police brutality. Second, is the current campaign to divide the police from the public. Third, is the claim that the city should adopt a Civilian Police Review Board to protect the people against abuse by the police."

"Recently," added the chief, "the image of the department has deteriorated so seriously that we are having a very difficult time finding competent men to recruit as officers."

"Maybe you should pay more money," suggested a citizen.

"That's another thing," replied the chief. "The city fathers agreed that the department was considerably underpaid and they were getting ready for a substantial boost. Since the attack,

however, they say the police situation has become so controversial that people might resent the police getting a raise before all of this hullabaloo settles down."

"Chief," said the leader of the committee, "I think we have heard enough to suggest to our minds a number of specific things we might do to rally support behind this department. We will prepare a preliminary draft of several proposed projects and then clear with you just in case we might be going in the wrong direction."

"Thanks for coming!" said the chief. And he meant it from the bottom of his heart.

Importance of a Citizens' Committee to Support the Local Police

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All over the United States today there are committees being organized under a variety of names which have as their objective the promoting of enthusiastic support for the local police department. This is an unprecedented development in recent American civic life and has come as a welcome surprise to a number of beleaguered police departments.

Much of this is the direct result of a deep resentment by rank-and-file American citizens against the naked violence which has been sweeping across the nation. It also reflects the resentment of citizens who see their local department being maliciously accused of brutality and malfeasance which the accusers have consistently failed to prove. The anti-police propagandists have relied upon the accusation alone to do the damage. And, unfortunately, it does just that unless some group of creditable citizens can come to the defense of the department and expose the accusers for what they are.

The accusers turn out to be the very people who are creating the climate of violence. Some of them have been proven to be the ones who initiated the violence. Then they have tried to blame the whole situation on the police. When the police have tried to defend themselves these same people have accused the police of trying to cover up. It is all designed to deceive the public with a wall of hate. This is why a citizens' committee which has sufficient credentials to present an acceptable image to the people is the best known means of bringing this campaign against the police to an early and decisive conclusion.

Suggested Procedure for Setting Up a Citizens' Committee

For the benefit of those who are interested in organizing or

participating in a "Support Your Local Police Committee," the following suggestions have emerged from the collective experience of several groups this writer has contacted.

First, see that the committee membership represents a broad spectrum of the community and cannot be accused of being dominated by any single civic club, church, fraternal group or political organization.

Second, the committee does not have to be large, but it should represent the general stratification of the community. One such committee with which the writer is familiar had the following makeup: a realtor, two ministers of different faiths, a vice-president of a bank, an insurance executive, a high school football coach, a druggist, an ex-FBI agent, a PTA president and a local radio announcer. These ten people arranged themselves in several committees with some of them serving on two or three while outsiders were brought in where they had special talents for certain assignments. These committees included:

1. A committee on research
2. A committee on publicity
3. A "Police Appreciation Week" Committee
4. A "Truth Squad" committee
5. A committee to prepare and publish an occasional "Bulletin" for local distribution.

Third, the committee should be completely independent of the police department, even though a close liaison must be maintained for the purpose of getting needed information and avoiding anything which might embarrass the department.

Fourth, the committee should avoid any unrelated controversial issues and stick to the one job of supporting the police and communicating factual information on police problems to the opinion-molding channels in the community.

Fifth, the committee should be quick to check out rumors with the police concerning any supposed violence or militant demonstration which is supposed to occur. This is so that the committee will not get caught in the position of adding to the police problem by discussing or spreading a rumor which the police may already know to be false. Recently a citizens' committee was of great assistance to the police of one city by smothering rumors of what was supposed to be a "scheduled" riot. The police had already investigated the rumor and found there was nothing to it. It is easy to visualize what might have happened if the committee had not checked with the chief. In its anxiety to support the police, the committee might have

spread the rumor and done a great disservice to both the community and the committee.

The "Truth Squad"

It is surprising how much good a minister and a lawyer were able to do in one city where they served on a Truth Squad. They used the Research Committee to do the leg work in running down documented information and then had the Publicity Committee prepare appropriate press releases so that when speeches were given to civic clubs or other public gatherings the comments of the Truth Squad could be furnished to the press.

In another city the Truth Squad did its best work by going on the local college campus and challenging the radical element which was using the college as a point of contagion for the spreading of hate propaganda against the police. It was surprising to discover how quickly an audience could be aroused against such hate-laden polemics when a responsible citizen arose with sufficient facts to expose the propaganda of the opposition.

Often the Truth Squad needed to do nothing more than use the Socratic technique of asking the propagandist what is meant by "police brutality." Most of the time such reckless talk goes unchallenged. If the person claims to have proof of abusive police activity then he should be asked if he has reported this to the chief, the city council, the mayor, the city attorney, the district attorney, the U.S. attorney, the FBI, or the local grand jury, all of which have remedial jurisdiction and can take direct action if there is a genuine basis for a complaint. In nearly all cases he will have failed to do so. If the speaker claims these agencies would only cover up for the police and the only remedy is to have a Civilian Police Review Board, then the Truth Squad must have the necessary information to expose the whole campaign for Civilian Review boards. Let's consider this proposal briefly.

The Civilian Police Review Board

Left-wing radicals are fully aware that the police are in an extremely vulnerable position when it comes to resisting their campaign for a Civilian Review Board. The very fact that the police object to such a board can be twisted around to make it appear that the police are hiding something and fear that the Civilian Review Board might expose it. Consequently, a citizens' committee can perform one of its most important functions by confronting the proponents of such boards with documented facts

and authoritative statements demonstrating that this type of board has a history of doing great damage to any community which has adopted it.

Here are some of the points the committee can stress: *The legal basis for such boards is lacking.* The Supreme Court of New York recently held that the city of Rochester had no authority to compel policemen to undergo a judicial review of their conduct by a group of private citizens.

No proof of any need for such a board: Elaborate legal machinery already exists for the channeling of complaints against the police. These include the police chief (who has more reason than anyone to ferret out any irregularities in his department), the civilian police commissioner (whose job was originally created to receive complaints from the public), the members of the city council, the mayor, the city attorney, the district attorney, the U.S. Attorney, the FBI, the grand jury and the Federal Grand Jury. All of these have remedial jurisdiction over charges of civil rights violations by police. Long ago it was claimed that local officials would cover up these violations but no such excuse can be used today because for several years charges of police brutality have been within the jurisdiction of the FBI and subject to Federal prosecution.

These boards are conducive to the intimidation of police personnel: Because the power to discipline is the power to control, the Civilian Review Board takes the police department out from under the people's elected representatives and places them under a politically oriented and often biased group of lay people who neither know nor understand police problems. During the 1964 riots FBI investigators discovered that departments under Civilian Review Boards were so fearful of reprisal in case they took action where certain minority groups were involved that they were virtually paralyzed. As J. Edgar Hoover reported: "Where there is an outside civilian review board the restraint of the police was so great that effective action against the rioters appeared to be impossible."

Police subjected to double jeopardy: In Philadelphia, the first city to try a Civilian Review Board, it was found that even after an officer had been cleared by the courts of an offense, the review board continued to harass the officer and threaten him with penalization.

Civilian Review Board idea originally created to subvert U.S. police. It is obvious that the removal of the police from the discipline and control of the city's elected representatives

and making them subservient to a small group of private citizens creates a perfect setup for any subversive group desiring to infiltrate the Review Board and intimidate the police. Therefore, as Dr. Bella Dodd, former national officer of the Communist Party, has pointed out, the whole idea of setting up Civilian Review Boards was invented by the Communist Party three decades ago. Their object, she says, was to gain control of the police and paralyze them when riots and violence were instigated. And as J. Edgar Hoover has already indicated, this is exactly what happens.

Motives of those now promoting Civilian Review Boards are highly questionable. The American Civil Liberties Union which is waging a nationwide campaign to place the police under Civilian Review Boards has been investigated many times for suspected subversive activities. And while the ACLU has never been proven to be under the discipline of the Communist Party *per se*, its director from 1920 to 1940 was Harry F. Ward who has been identified by former leaders of the Communist Party as a member. A Federal legislative committee reported, "The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90% of its efforts are on behalf of communists who come into difficulty with the law." The California Senate Fact Finding Committee supported this estimate of "90%" and said, "The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a communist front or 'Transmission Belt' organization." (These and other citations on ACLU are quoted with original sources in *The California Peace Officer*, November-December, 1960, in an article entitled "Police Review Board," by Norman H. Moore.)

J. Edgar Hoover has issued a warning against Civilian Review Boards: In the January 1, 1965, issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, J. Edgar Hoover wrote: "When carefully considered, it is clear this drive for external boards is an ill-advised maneuver. It amounts to the usurpation of authority rightfully belonging to the police commander. It is a practice which could damage effective law enforcement and reduce the orderly processes of community life to petty bickering, suspicion, and hatred."

• *Advocates of Civilian Review Boards deliberately misrepresent facts on police brutality.* In an article entitled, "Police Brutality, Fact or Fiction," *U.S. News and World Report* (Sept. 6, 1965) gives the results of a national survey: "Diligent inquiry on the part of staff members . . . has failed to turn up evidence of

any 'wave' of brutality on the part of police toward citizens in the cities of the United States. What research does reveal is that civilian 'brutality' against the police is being practiced rather widely. Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics show that 57 officers were murdered in line of duty last year. Eighteen thousand policemen were assaulted, resulting in injuries to 7,700 of them."

This last sentence demonstrates rather vividly the need for citizen committees to support the local police.

"Police Appreciation Week"

One of the most effective devices to help rehabilitate the legitimate image of the police is to have the mayors of several cities in an area issue a proclamation for a "Police Appreciation Week." This writer was recently invited to speak at a luncheon which came at the conclusion of a police appreciation week in Schenectady, New York. It was obvious that the citizens committee had rendered a great service in bringing together the mayors, councilmen, police chiefs, sheriff, deputy sheriffs, the prosecuting attorney and many leading citizens of the entire county. The press, three television stations and several radio stations covered the event. It could not help but do a lot for the morale of the police and create a desire on the part of the people to give more active support to the police.

During the week the committee had spread around the city a large quantity of bumper stickers reading, "Support Your Local Police." Actually, these stickers are now available in almost any part of the country. Sometimes they carry the emblem of the Exchange Clubs, sometimes the Lions International, and sometimes they are left without any particular endorsement other than that of the good citizen who is willing to put it on the bumper of his car. In any event, they are effective. As with football, baseball, basketball, or anything else, it helps to "talk up the team."

Conclusion

So today, in view of the rising tide of civil unrest, the deliberate turning of city streets into battle fields, and the massive propaganda attack against the forces of law and order, there was never a more appropriate time to organize a committee of local citizens to support the local police. It may embarrass the chief to have a body of citizen VIP's move in upon him with a

radiant determination to help, but if they will be patient the chief will soon recover from his slight attack of apoplexy and be eternally grateful for this unprecedented gesture of much needed support.

Appendix

A COMMUNIST PLOT AGAINST THE FREE WORLD POLICE

*A photographic reproduction of an original
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A COMMUNIST PLOT AGAINST THE FREE WORLD POLICE

[AN EXPOSE OF CROWD-HANDLING METHODS]

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JUNE 13, 1961

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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WASHINGTON : 1961

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J. O. SOURWINE, *Counsel*

BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

RESOLUTION

Resolved by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, That the injunction of secrecy be removed from testimony given in executive session by Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, on June 13, 1961; be it further

Resolved, That said testimony be printed and made public.

Dated September 25, 1961.

A COMMUNIST PLOT AGAINST THE FREE WORLD POLICE

TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1961

U.S. SENATE, SUBCOMMITTEE TO
INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND
OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2 p.m., in room 3234, New Senate Office Building, Senator Thomas J. Dodd presiding.

Present: Senator Thomas J. Dodd.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel, and Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

Senator DODD. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Kirkpatrick, I am advised that you have some startling and rather terrifying information about Communist methods of coping with the free world police. I understand, further, that you are willing to impart that information to the Internal Security Subcommittee so that we may pass it on to the American public as a means of protecting themselves against being drawn into a Communist demonstration.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. Thank you, sir. I have some information along the line you spoke about. I shall be glad to tell the committee what I have learned and I hope it will dull the point of the Communist sickle.

Senator DODD. General, I know it is unnecessary, but it is routine committee procedure. Will you be sworn, sir?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. Certainly, Senator.

Senator DODD. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. I do.

Senator DODD. Please give your full name and address for the record.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. I am Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., inspector general on the staff of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and I am stationed in Washington.

Senator DODD. Thank you.

Proceed, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kirkpatrick, just to get you in perspective: Will you give us a brief biography?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. Certainly. I was born at Rochester, N.Y.; educated at Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Mass., and at Princeton University, where I majored in international relations. I was graduated in 1938 and was hired as assistant managing director, later

an editor and personnel director, of the Bureau of National Affairs, a publishing concern which David Lawrence had established to issue several technical journals.

In June 1942, I went to work for the Office of the Coordinator of Information. When the Office of Strategic Services was created from that staff, I was assigned to OSS, went to London, and in 1944, landed with the 1st United States Army in Normandy. I was transferred in August of that year to Gen. Omar Bradley's 12th Army group and served until V-E Day as General Bradley's G-2 briefing officer. While I was in the United States en route to a new assignment in the China-Burma-India theater, the Japanese surrendered and, after some months, I became an editor of the news magazine, *World Report*, another David Lawrence enterprise.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you become associated with CIA.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. In 1947, when Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg was named Director of the newly established Central Intelligence Group, he asked me to assist in organization of some parts of the undertaking. I took leave from the magazine and have remained with CIA.

Mr. SOURWINE. I believe you served as Division Chief, Assistant Director, and as executive assistant to the Director before you assumed your present position?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You believe that the organization has become an important facility in the security field and that its services are needed in a cold war as much as in a hot war?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. I do. I think it is imperative that the security forces of the free world be kept currently informed of subversive activities anywhere in the world which may affect their countries. I believe, also, that the public should be alerted whenever it appears they are likely to be the unwitting tools or the victims of a specific campaign of subversion.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kirkpatrick, last year the Internal Security Subcommittee published a staff study rounding up details of recent riots against constituted authority all over the free world, including the United States. Copies of that small pamphlet disappeared like magic, indicating, it would seem to me, a deep concern among the American people lest this type of protest should get out of hand.

Now, I am sure those who read that pamphlet, and many others who asked for copies we couldn't supply, will profit by the explanations you gave of handling this form of revolt and the suggestions you offered for avoiding the traps set by the highly skilled Communist agents who may always be found directing these mass upheavals.

Will you proceed, please, at your own pace?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. Senators and Mr. Sourwine, many of us know what is back of the mob violence which we have been considering. It is probable, however, that few of the demonstrators realize that they are victims of a war that is being waged in the free world today. It is a life-and-death struggle between communism, which makes the people the slaves of the state, and free world democracy, in which the state carries out the will of the people.

Our police are among the foremost guardians of freedom and thus a major target of the Communists. The better the force, the greater its efficiency, the higher its competence in preserving the peace, the

more vital it is for the Communists to destroy it. I understand it is the committee's desire that I outline the tactics of Communist subversion and describe several case histories illustrating their technique for attacking the police.

The international Communist organization provides a training manual for espionage agents in which their duties are enumerated. This pocket-sized pamphlet was seized in Europe. Let me paraphrase the tasks assigned to agents in one of the countries of the free world.

First, make investigations and report on the activities of the police and security services.

Second, investigate and repress those security organizations which support the government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would that task include action against such organizations as CIA, the FBI, and even this subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. I would assume so.

Third, find ways to infiltrate into the police and security organizations to steal documents—particularly those recording their knowledge of communism—and to destroy everything of value.

I believe that the manual is specific enough in those instructions.

Senator DOBB. We had sworn testimony a few months ago that almost the first thing the Castro forces did when they took over Havana was to destroy all government records of Communist investigations, including the dossiers of more than 250,000 Communists and Communist supporters.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. I have a second example. Let me describe briefly the history of the Communist war against the police in one of the major countries of the free world. I should state initially that this particular country has a long history of excellent police service and a law, dating back many years, requiring that the police force be completely divorced from all politics. Further, until the Communist politicians started to create trouble in recent years there had never been an incident on record showing political interference with the administration of the police force.

In this particular nation there is a national police force which has five levels but is organized on a national, provincial, and local basis. The Communist technique has been directed primarily toward discrediting the police in the eyes of the people. On the local level, Communist troublemakers would start fights in public places in order to involve the local police. When the police went into action, the troublemakers linked arms in an effort to show that it was the police who were causing the incident.

The handbook from which I have been quoting very generously provided graphs or sketches to illustrate this point. Of course, they are designed to facilitate training of Communist agitators. The sketches show, in the most elementary fashion, how crowds can succeed in crushing police opposition. Those not familiar with Communist techniques will more easily understand, by examining the pictures, how a few well-trained Communist agitators can utilize crowds for their purposes. I have photo copies here, somewhat enlarged, which I shall leave with the committee. Attached to each is a brief description of the situation it is designed to portray.

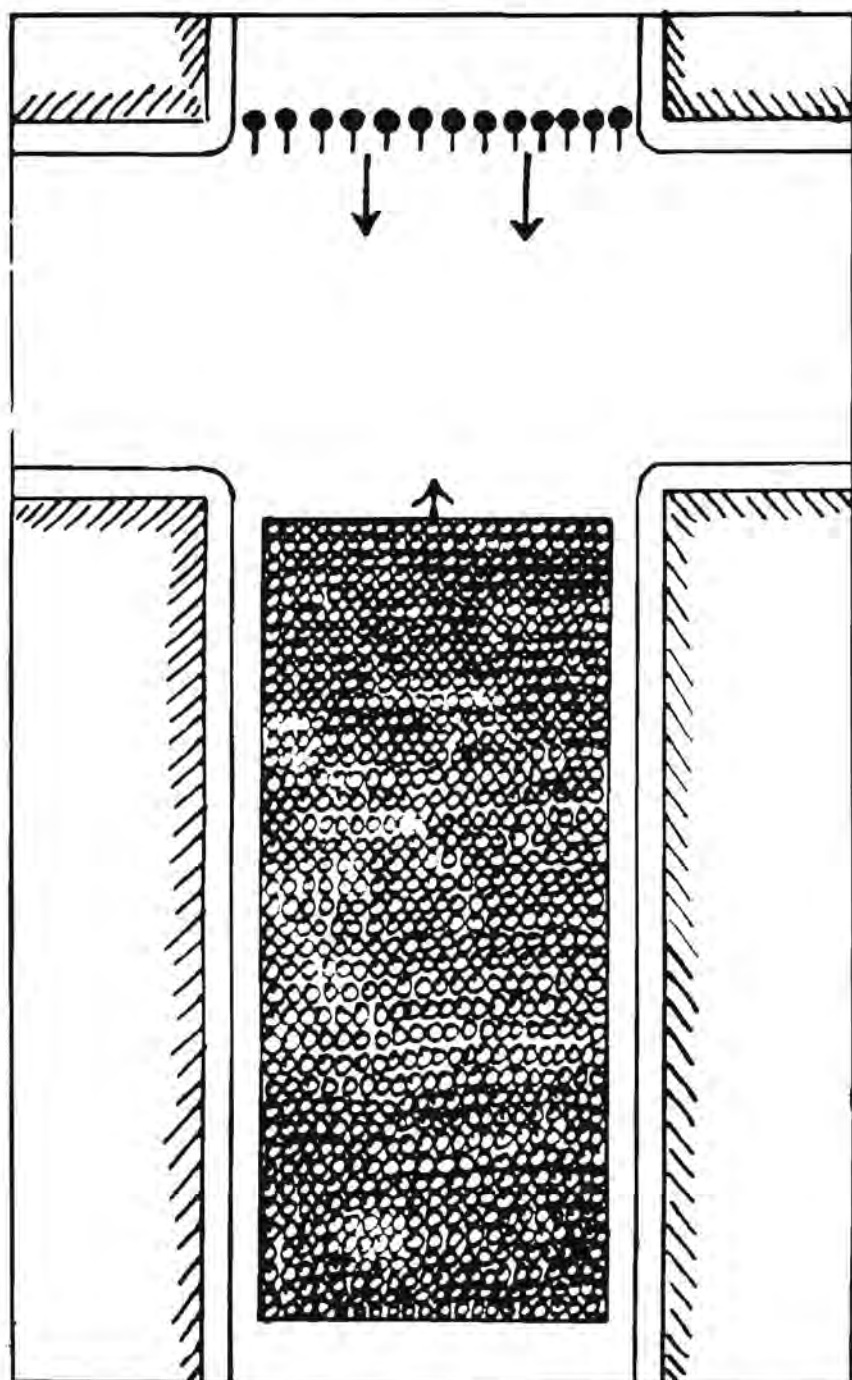


Illustration No. 1.—Shows a crowd coming down the street to face a few policemen who are blocking the path.

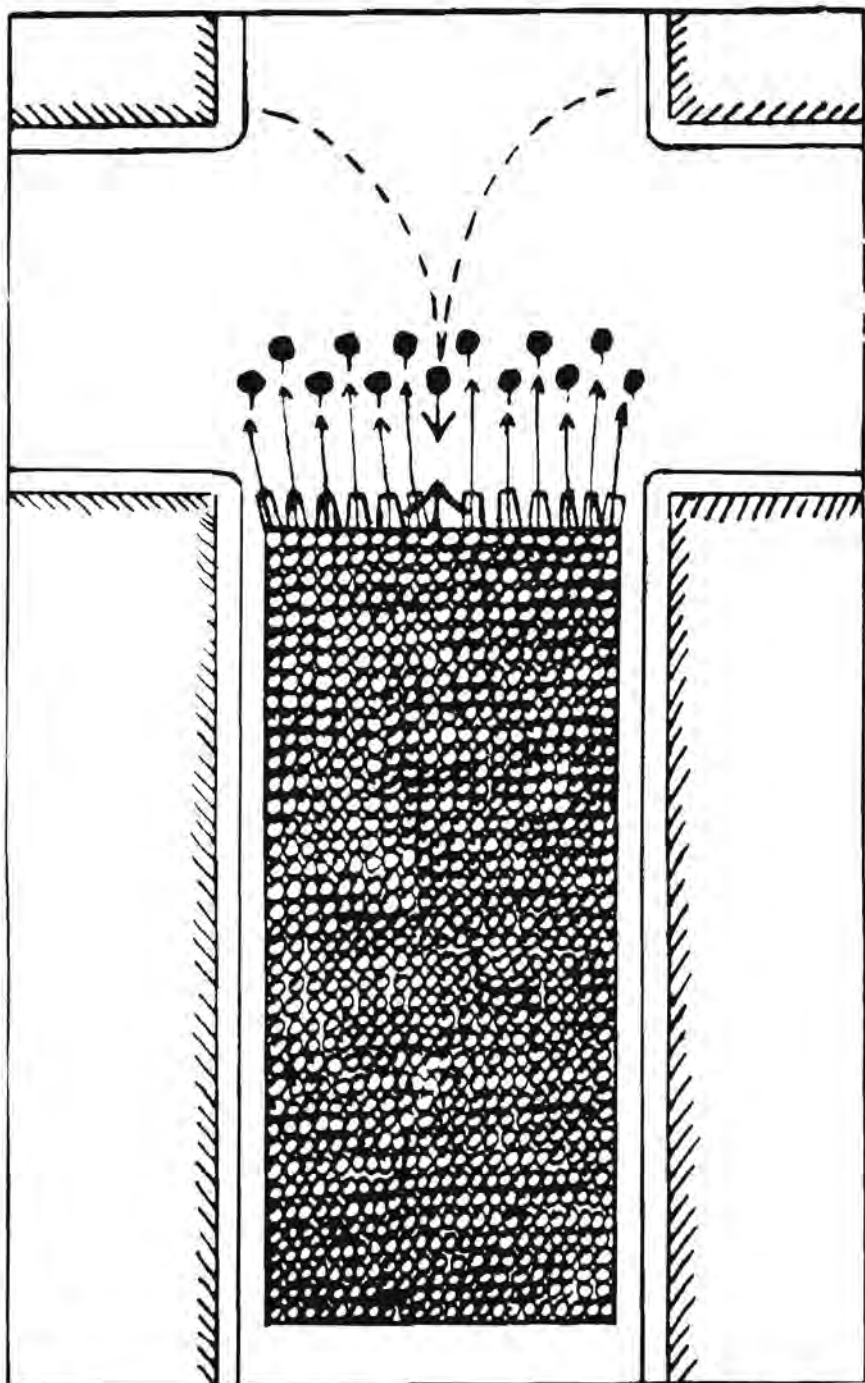


Illustration No. 2.—Shows that the police have deployed into two lines opposing crowd. Members in front of the crowd are to engage each policeman so that the rest of the crowd can surge around them.

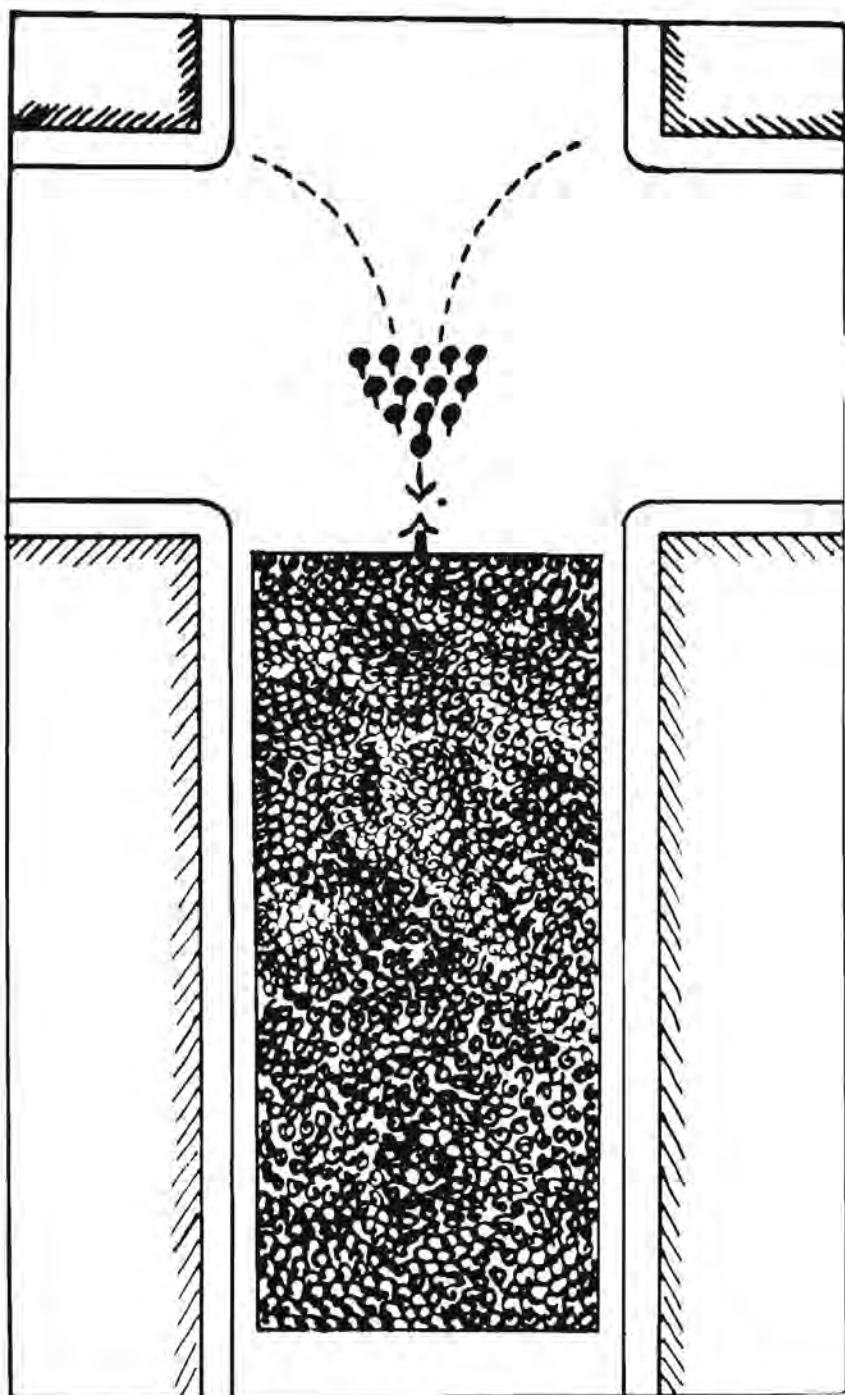


Illustration No. 3.—Shows that the police have moved into the classic phalanx in order to give mutual protection.

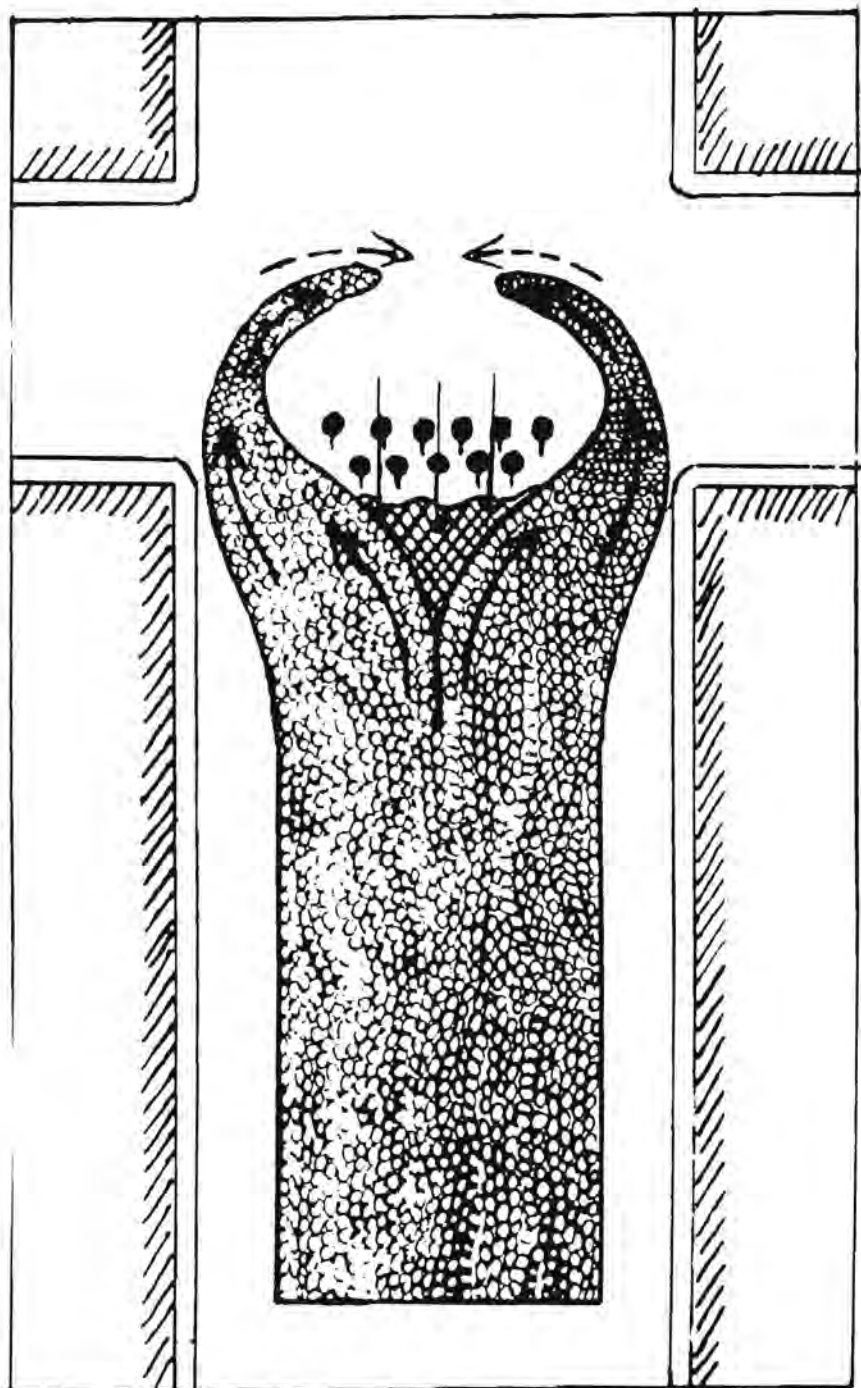


Illustration No. 4.—Shows the crowd swarming around the police in an envelopment.

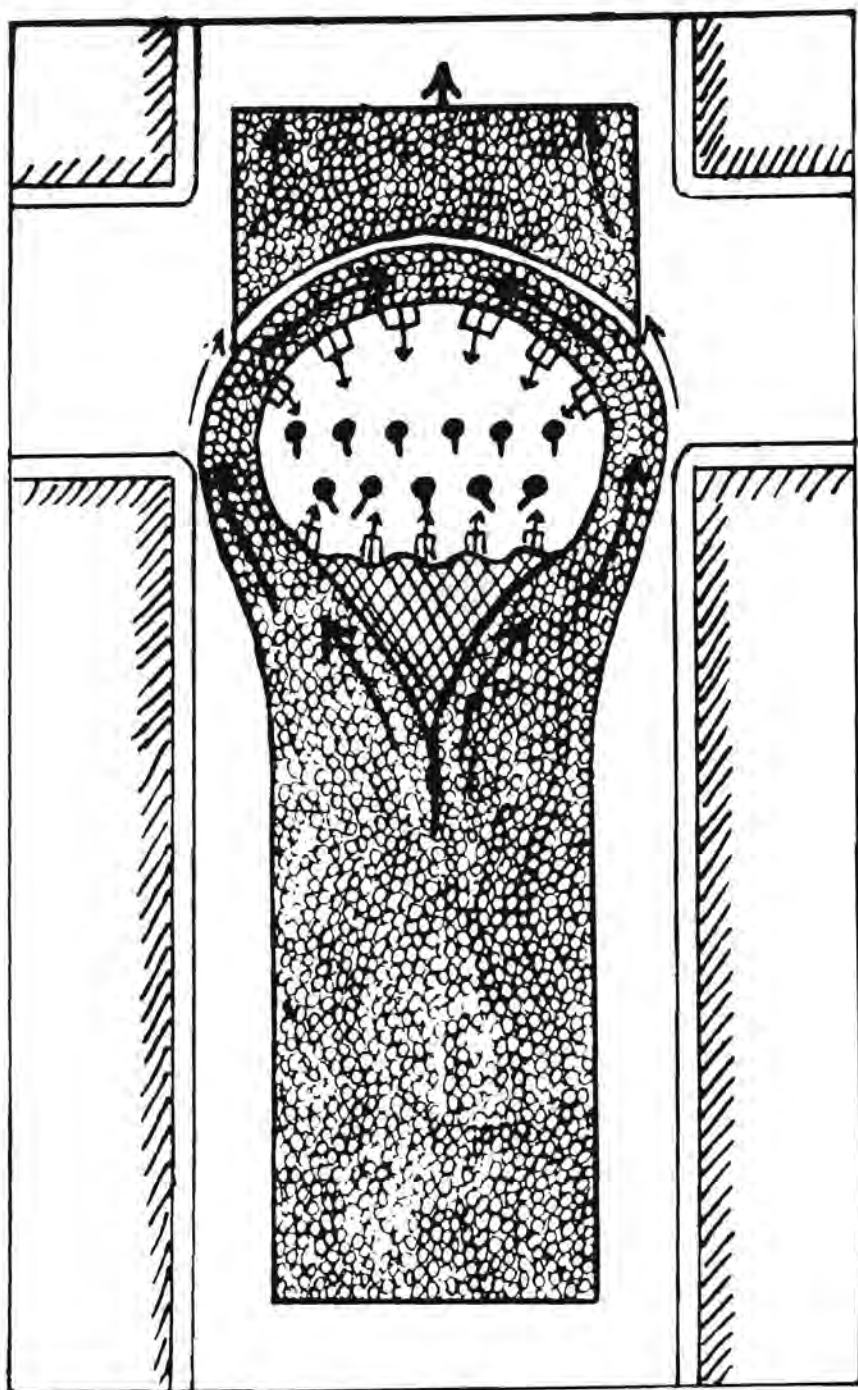


Illustration No. 5.—Shows the police surrounded and obviously incapable of any further handling of the crowd.

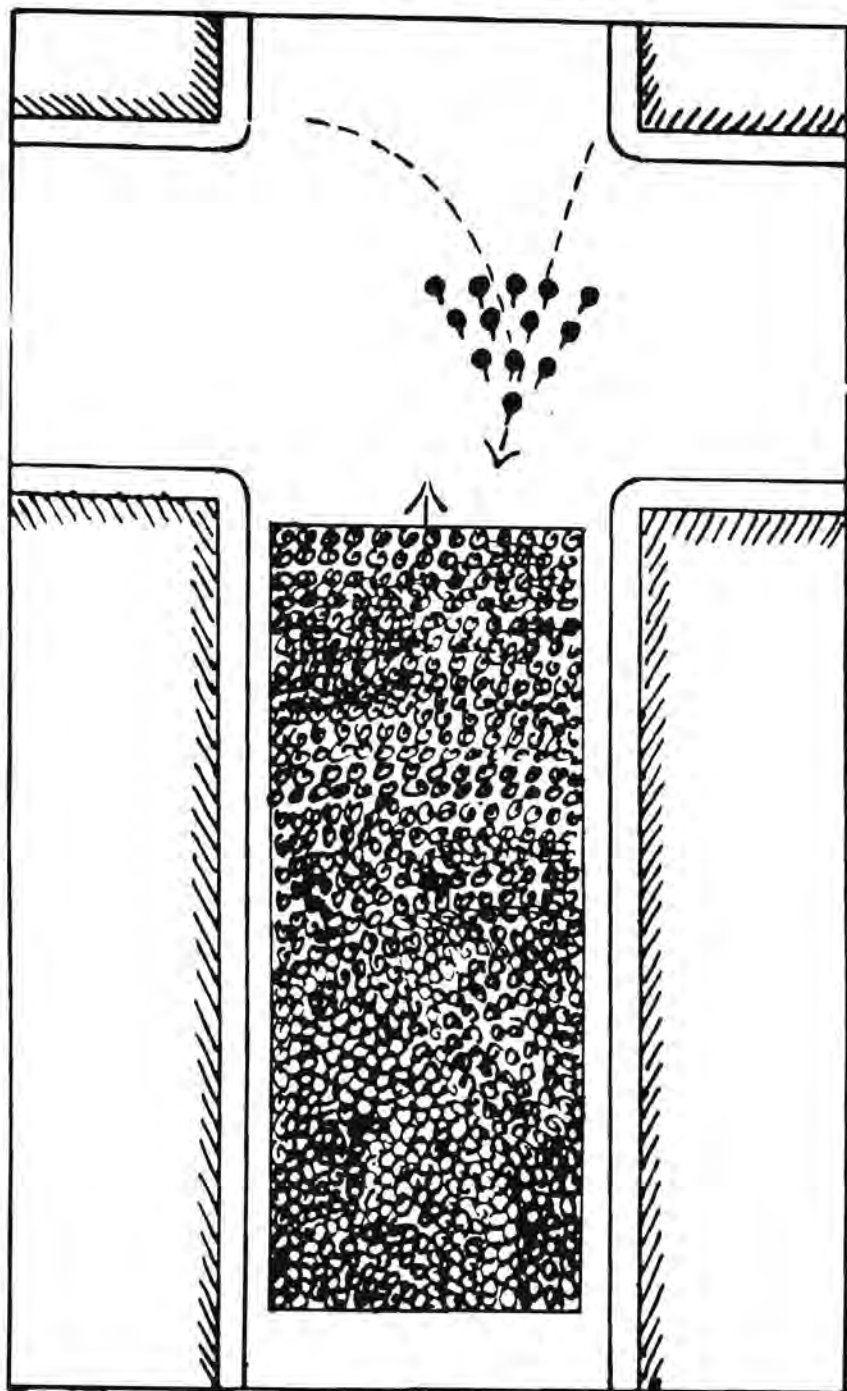
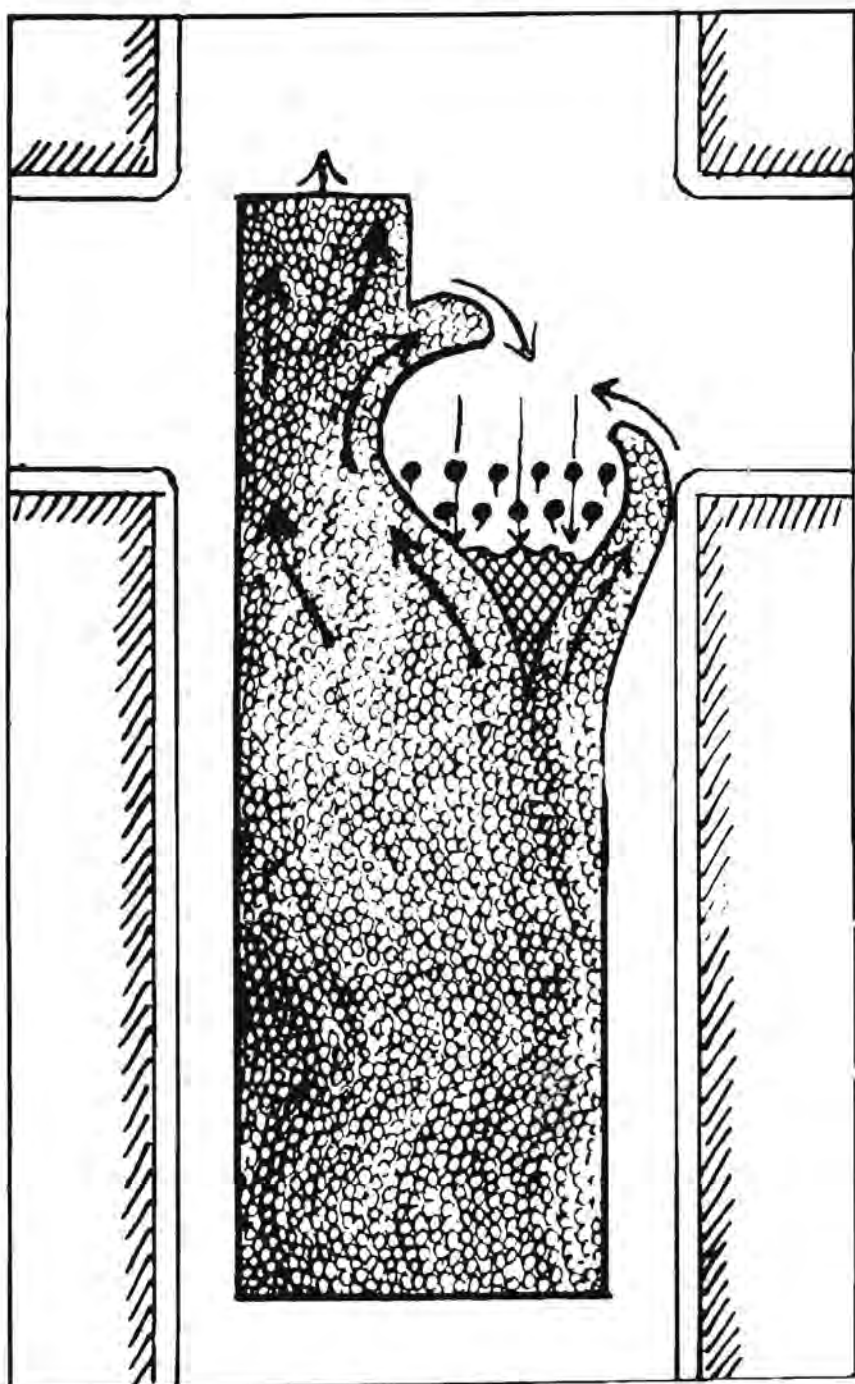
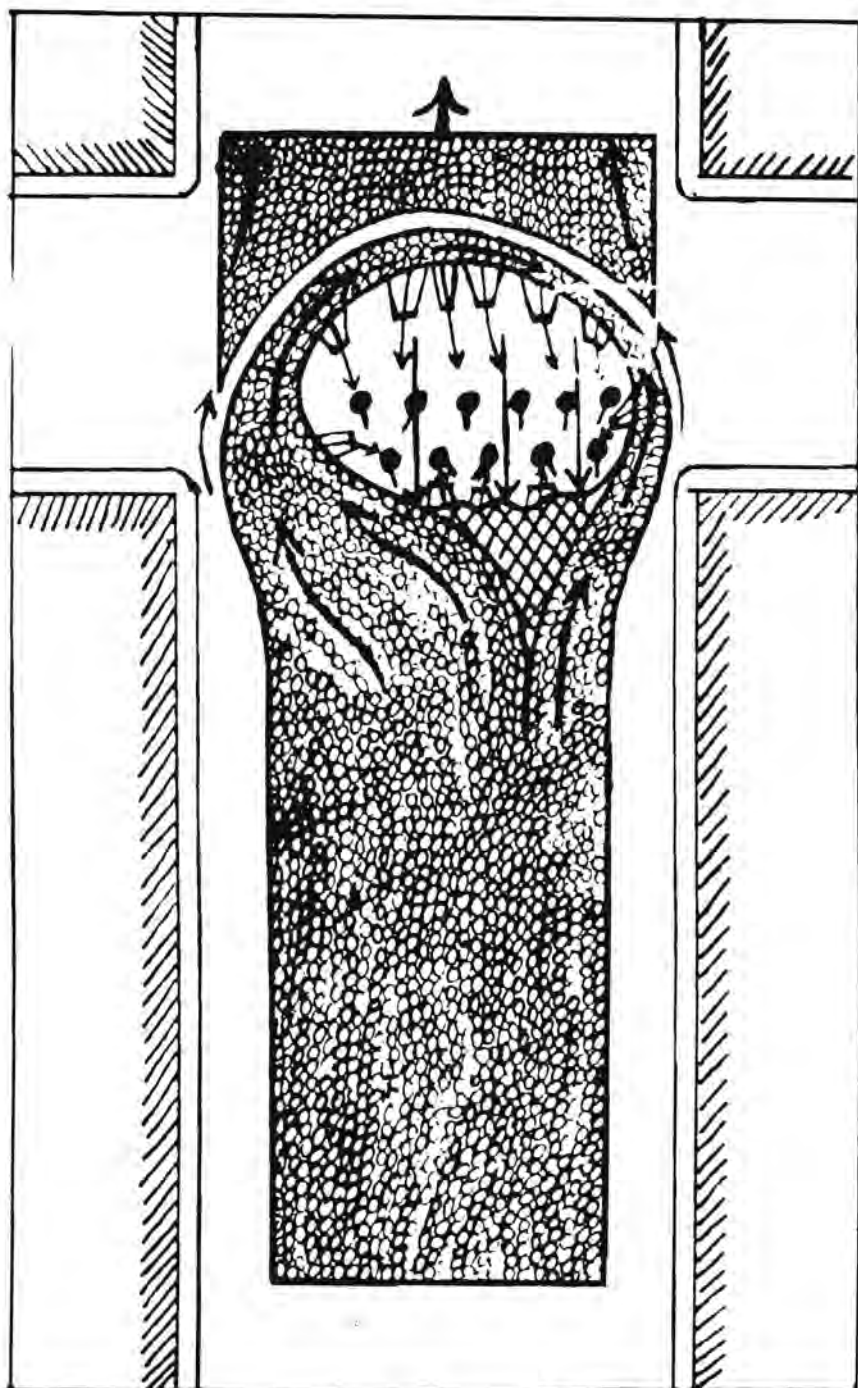


Illustration Nos. 6, 7, and 8.—Show the agitators what to do if the police phalanx comes in from the right. In classic military terms, this would be another envelopment in which the bulk of the crowd passes to the left of the police and then surrounds them.





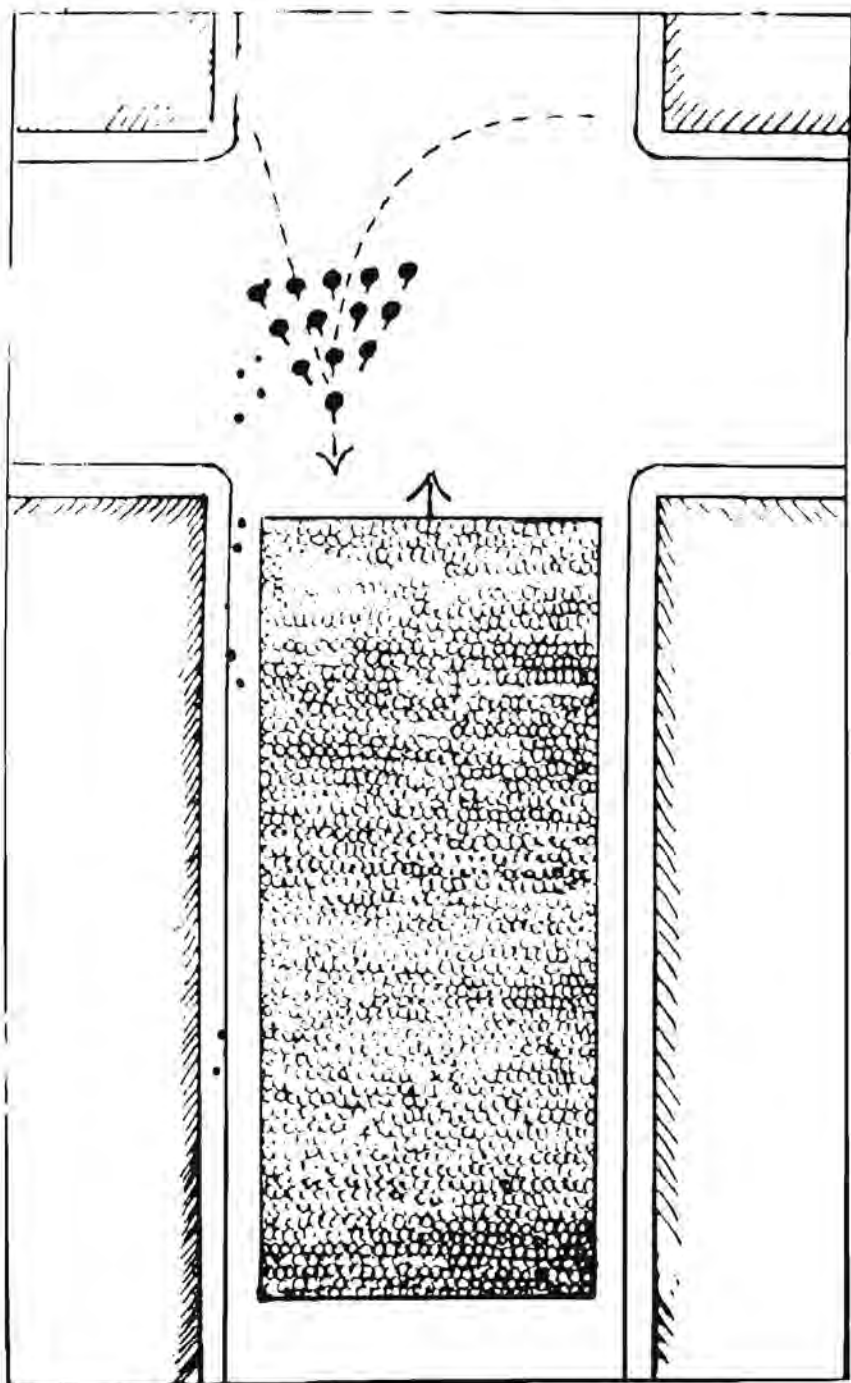
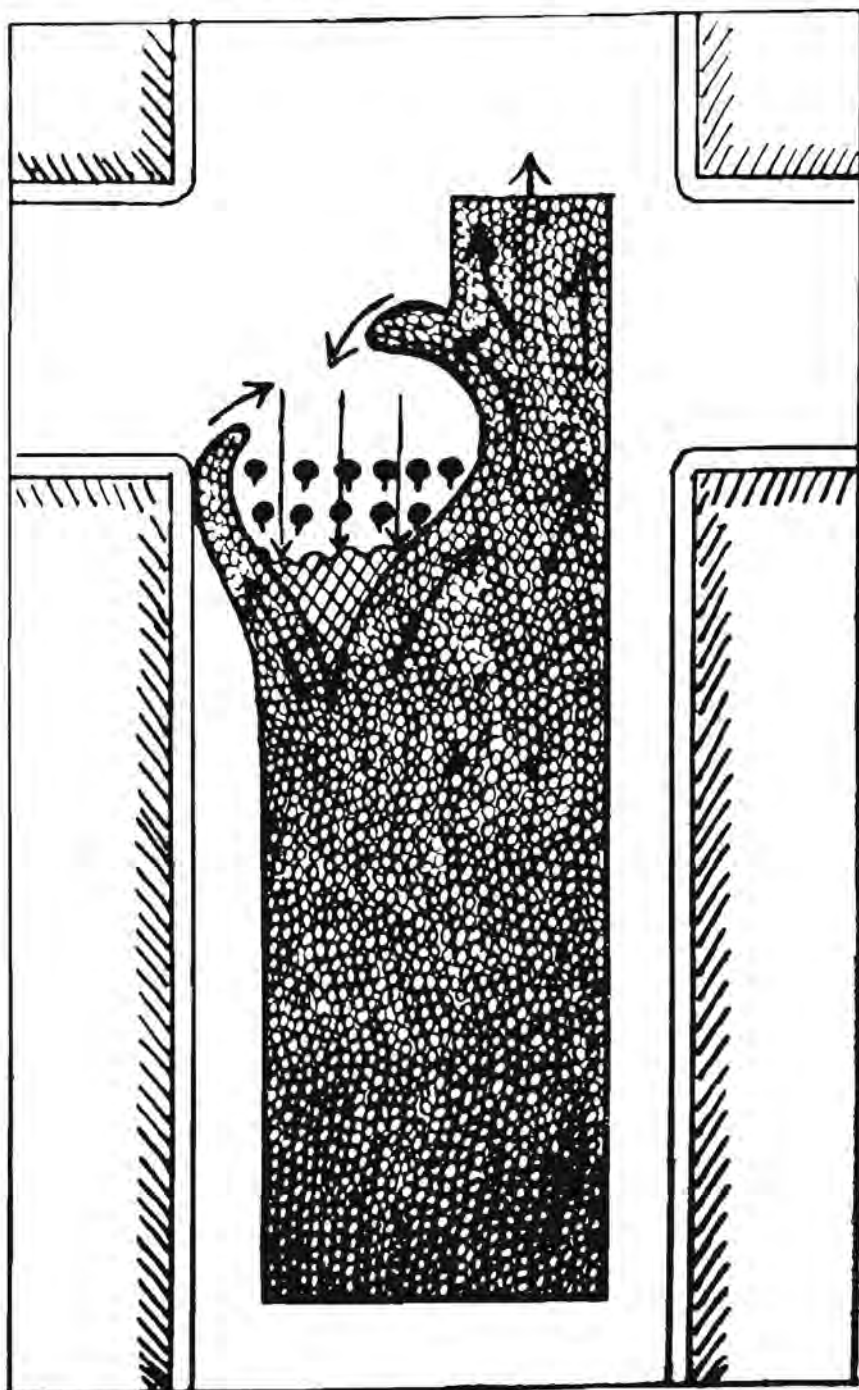
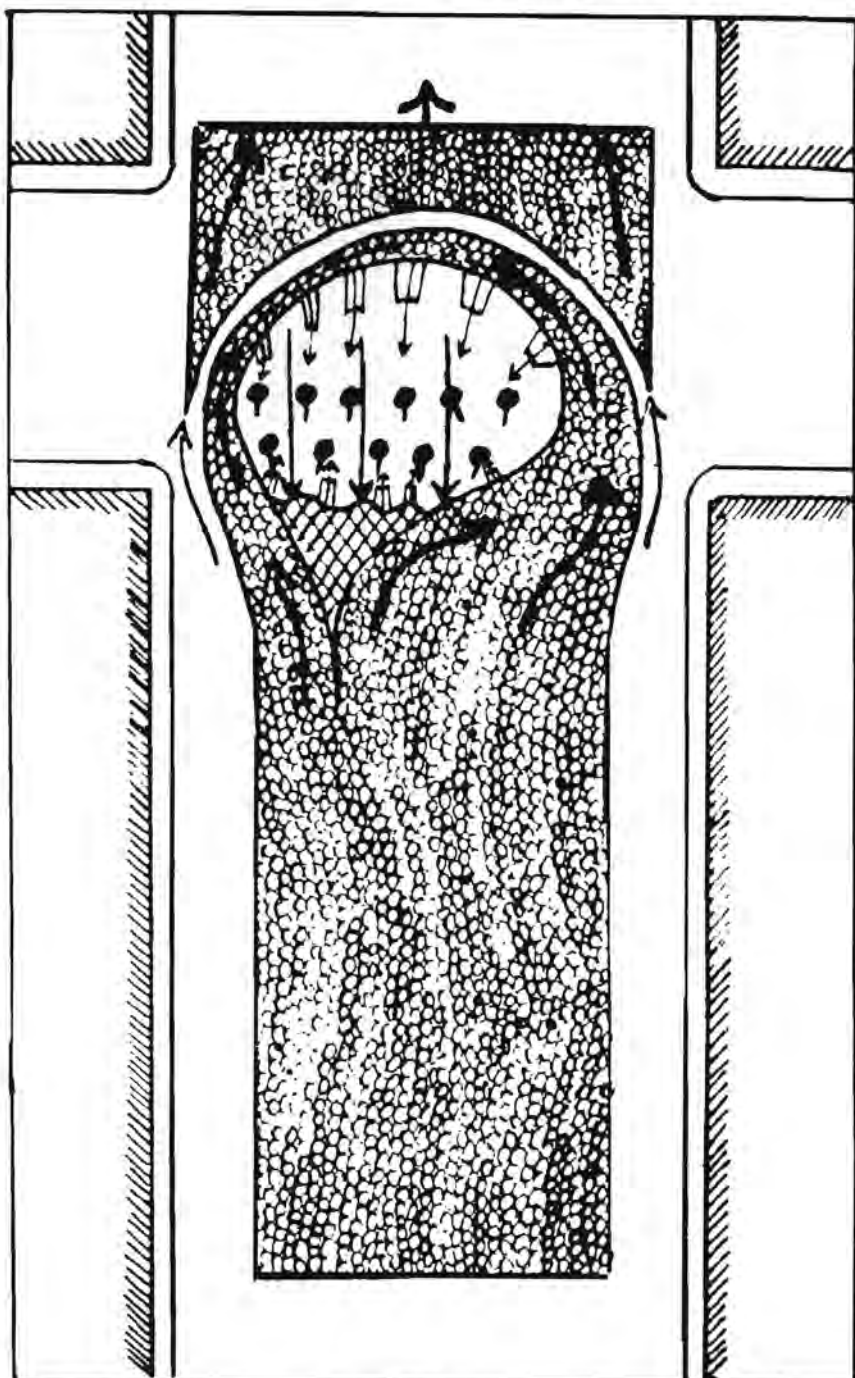


Illustration Nos. 9, 10, and 11.—Show the identical techniques if the police phalanx comes in from the left.





Mr. KIRKPATRICK. The Communists, of course, try to tell the people that the police are in the pay of foreign powers. Efforts were made to penetrate the police and to recruit personnel in headquarters and provincial offices and in security units. Further, a smear campaign attempted to discredit the leaders among the rank and file. The more outstanding and upright the senior police officers, the more certain they were to become a major Communist target.

As has occasionally happened, the Reds reached cabinet level in this particular country, not as Communists but using a political front party. The Communists in the cabinet paid particular attention to the police, making frequent visits to the police chiefs in charge of provinces to check on such things as administration and security units. One cabinet member demanded that his Communist-front party have full freedom of action and threatened dismissal of police who interfered with Communist agitators. Another cabinet minister, also a member of the Communist-front party, threatened the officer in charge with dismissal because of refusal to release from jail a member of the Communist Party sentenced for an ordinary crime. The chief of the metropolitan police was threatened with disciplinary action because he arrested hired Communist troublemakers who were responsible for a bloody riot in which a large number of police were injured.

The above history is a rather awesome example of Communist techniques against the police. Fortunately I can report that in this instance they failed and, although it was a critical period in the history of this particular country, the fine traditions of the police have been restored and this nation is on the road to true freedom and democracy.

Senator DODD. Mr. Kirkpatrick, suppose the police got the upper hand in a crowd demonstration. What do the Communists do about that?

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. The Communists are taught how to prevent such a situation, if it is their mob. Here are some graphs which show the situation you have in mind:

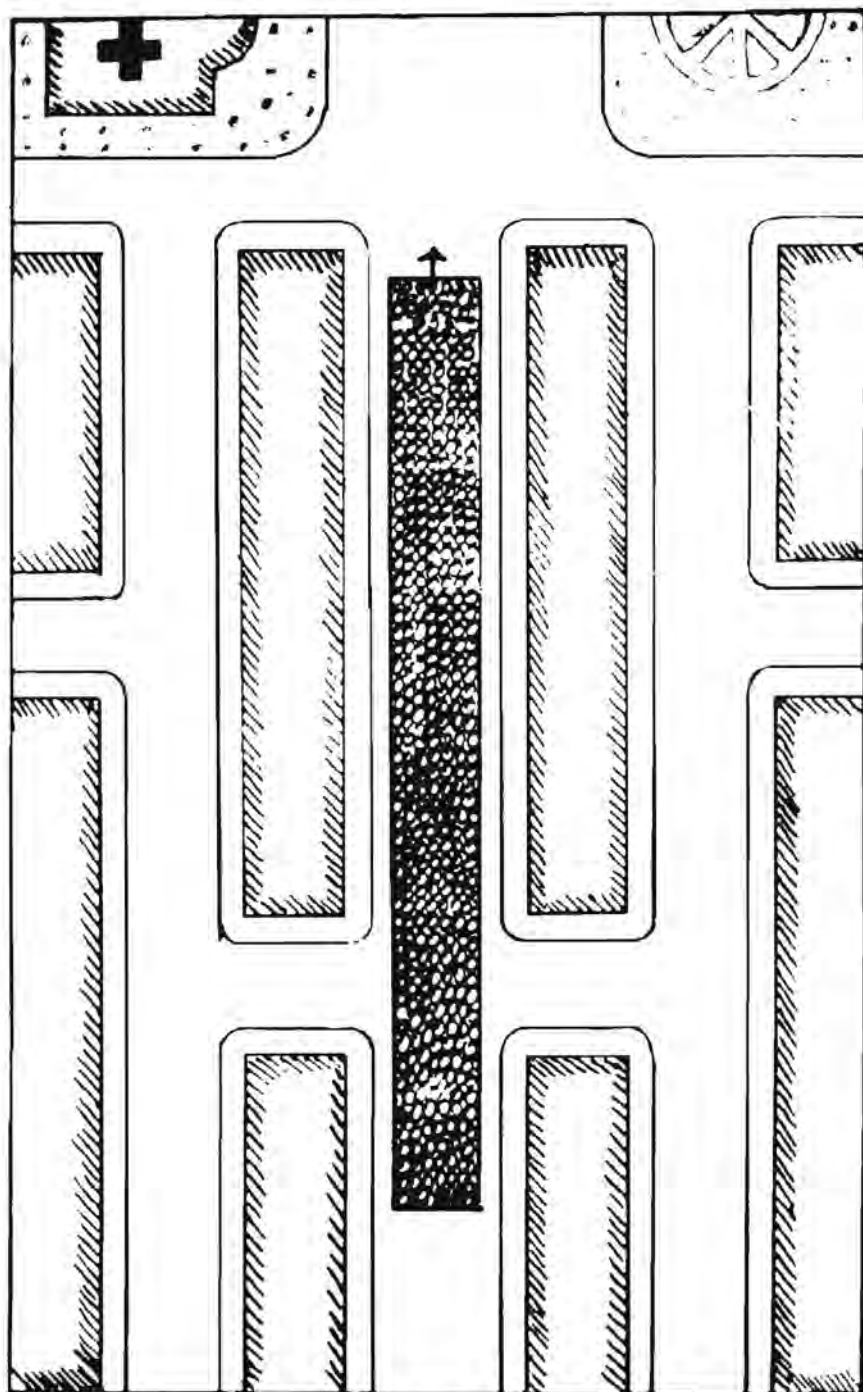


Illustration No. 12.—Shows a crowd unprotected by action units.

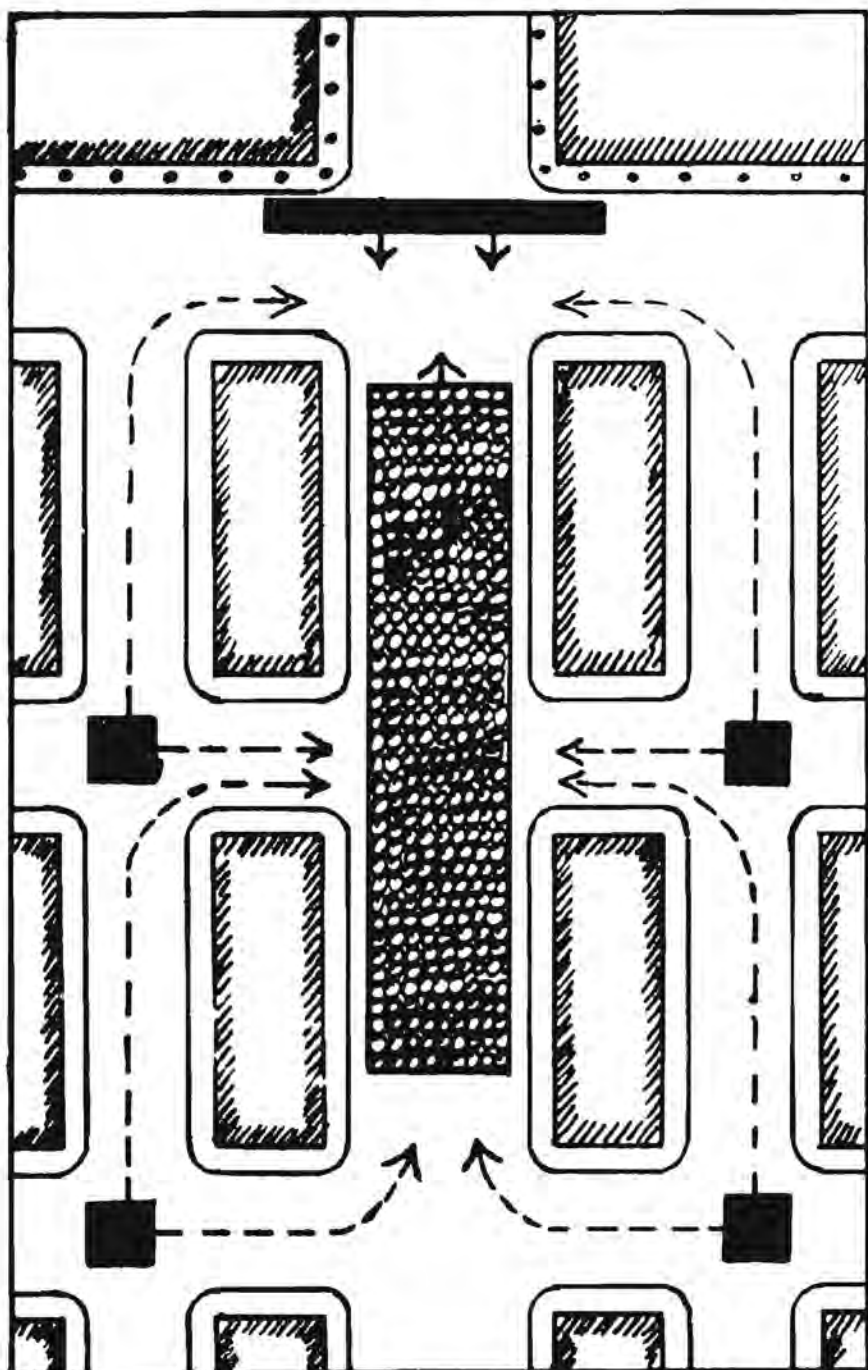


Illustration No. 13.—Shows police units blocking a street with reserve units capable of moving in any direction in order to act against the crowd and effect its dispersal.

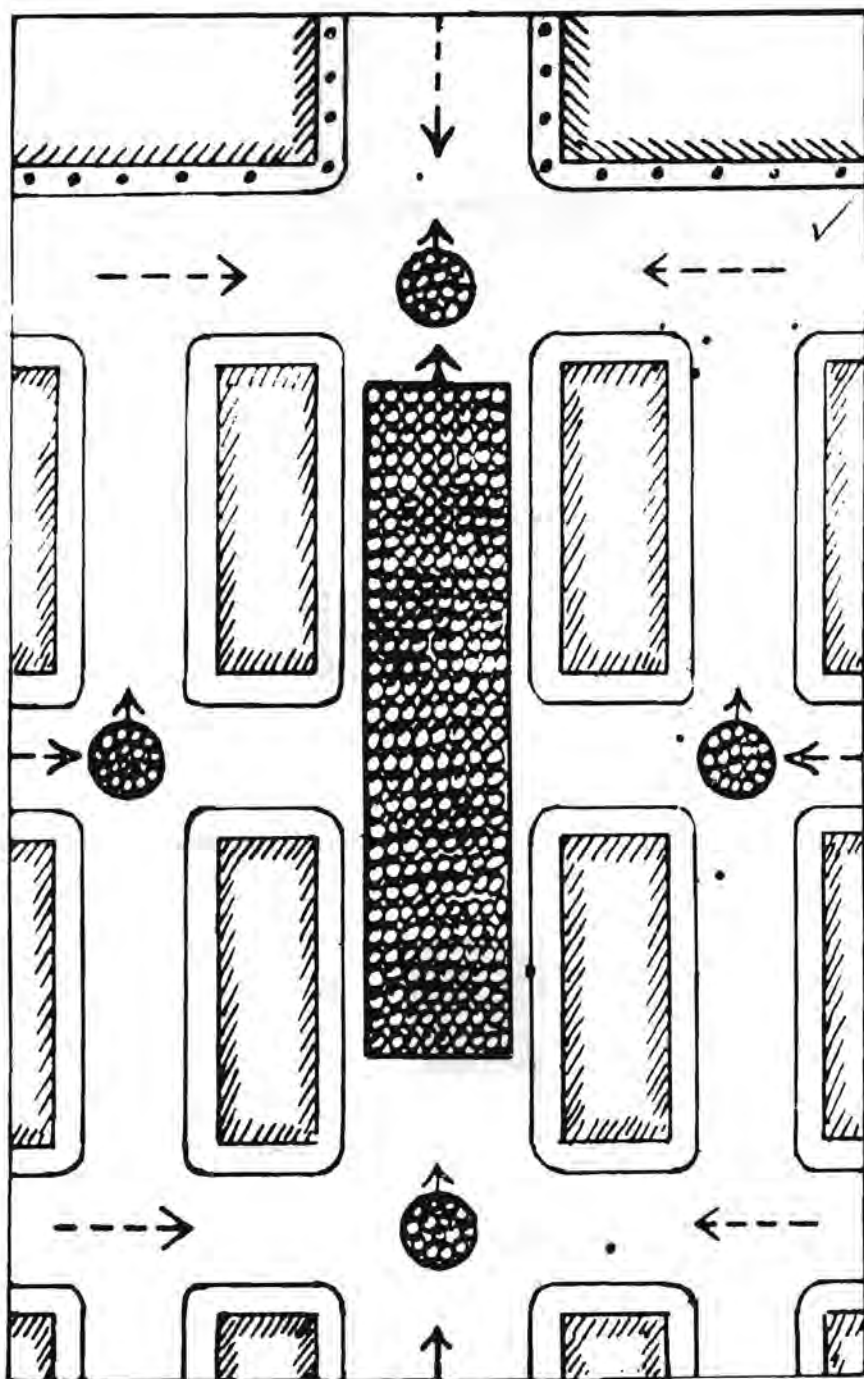


Illustration No. 14.—Shows a crowd protected by action units to engage the police and permit the demonstrators to go on their way which might well be to a riot at the American Embassy.

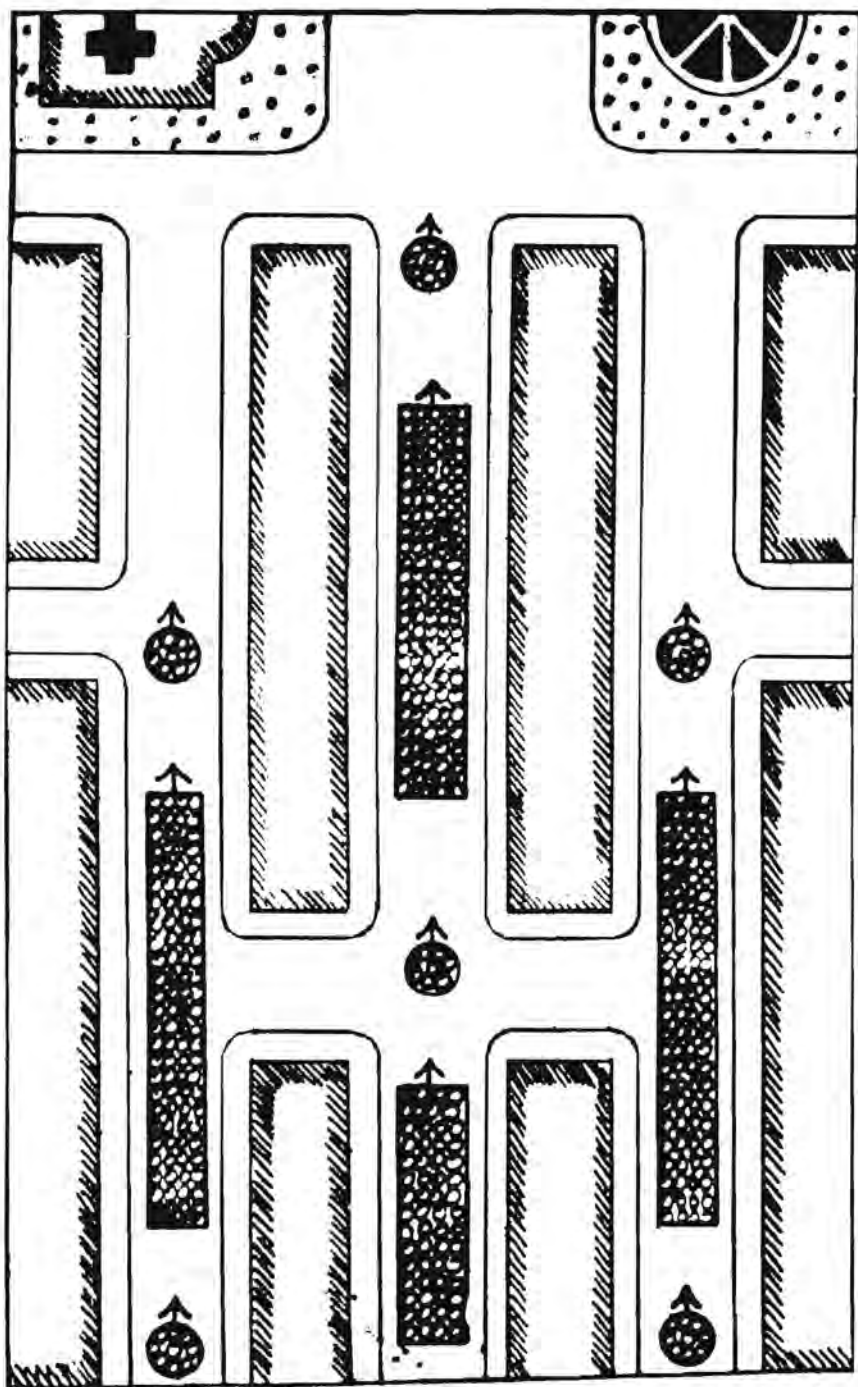


Illustration No. 15.—Shows how the Communists organize their crowds to frustrate any police attempts to control them. These formations provide maximum flexibility for envelopment tactics.

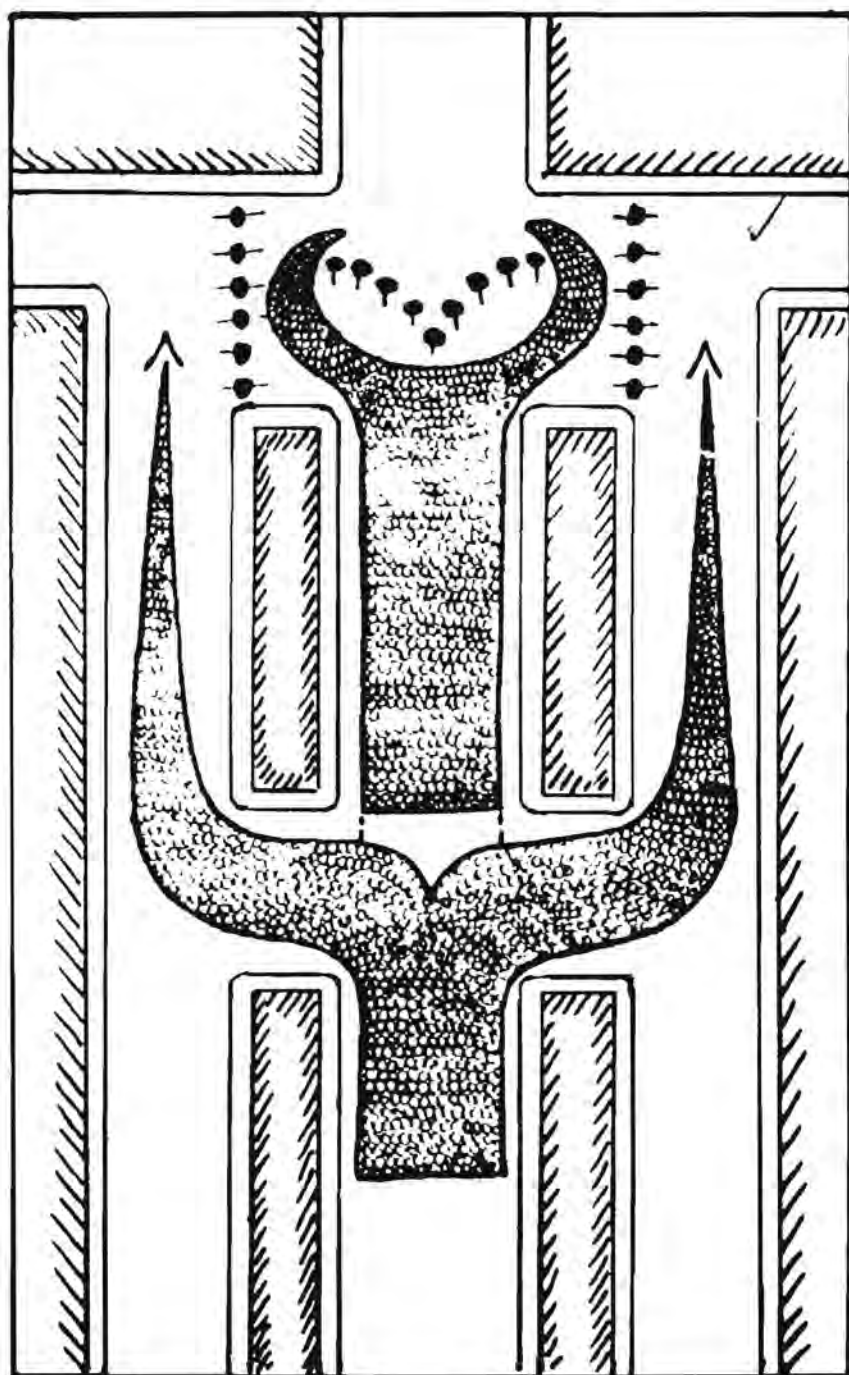


Illustration No. 16.—Shows once again the use of military-type envelopment techniques with the central column surrounding the small body of police directly in front of them and the two columns on the parallel streets flanking the police in the center.

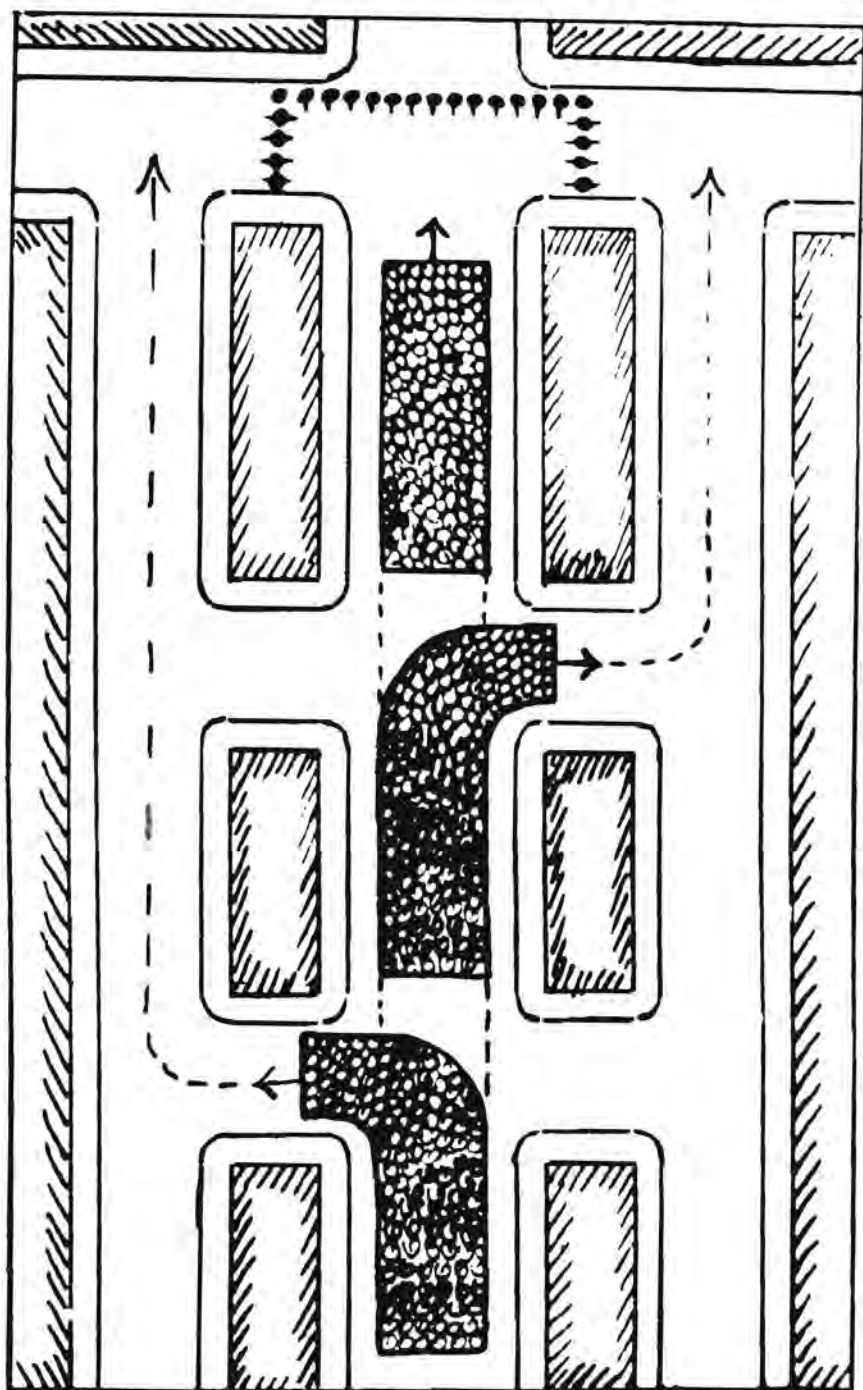


Illustration No. 17.—Shows another technique for the same problem. The police have blocked the route of march so that the Communists have broken their column into three bodies, moving one to the right and one to the left to flank the police.

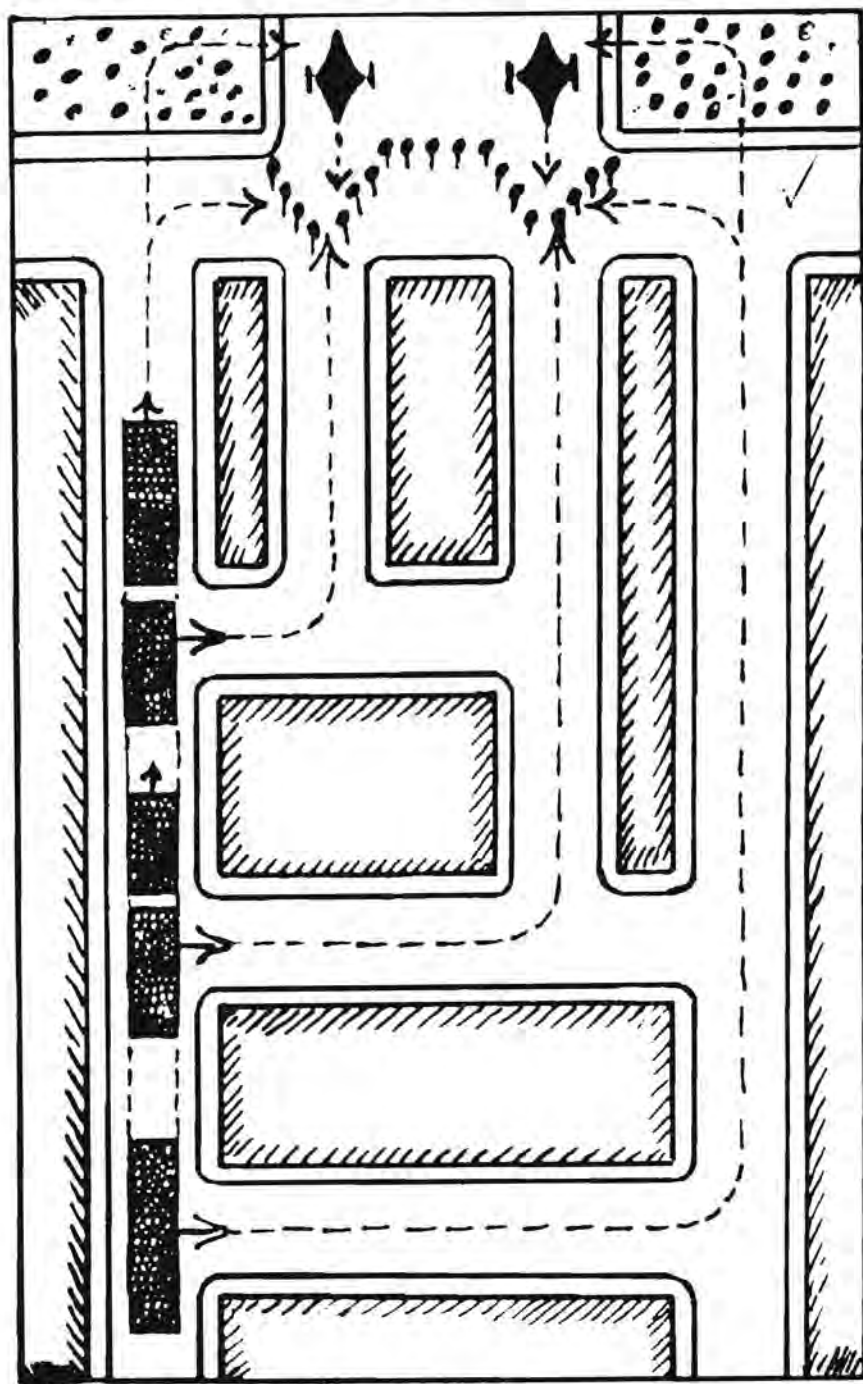


Illustration No. 18.—Shows the agitator how to cope with the police roadblock. They divide the crowd into four groups to attack the police from all sides.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. In another country a Communist, under the label of another political party, became the Minister of Interior. He was the direct boss of the Director General of Police—a career police official loyal to his country. The Minister spent most of the 6 months he was in office attempting to find out what the police knew about the Communist Party. Through some fast footwork, at the risk of losing his job, the Director General was able to keep most of the police knowledge away from the Minister.

As you know, there are two general aspects of Communist activity: (1) The subversive aspect where efforts are made to penetrate and control every phase of the political, economic, and cultural life of a country; (2) the militant aspect which involves agitation, demonstrations, riots, insurrection, and rebellion. Police must have a capability of dealing with both the subversive and militant aspects of communism. This requires an internal security mechanism which provides an investigative apparatus capable of identifying and developing information on subversive individuals and organizations and capable of neutralizing their activities. It is also necessary that this highly trained and highly specialized investigative apparatus be supported by a larger force which, in addition to performing routine police duties, must be capable of controlling demonstrations, riots, and other civil disorders.

Lest I give the impression that the Communists are concentrating only upon the newer nations and younger democracies, I would like to mention an incident in an important and major parliamentary power. In this particular country the Communist press specializes in playing up and discrediting all police action against rioters, strikers, and mobs. The Communists have exerted considerable effort to penetrate the police and to sap the morale of the force. Following this pattern, an article was published in a paper of national circulation concentrating on the following themes: that the police were distrusted by the people; that the enlisted personnel of the police were ill treated; that the officers were incompetent; that it was basically a repressive force; that it should be reorganized on regional lines because it did not represent the people.

Here in one place is a listing of the themes used by the Communist subversives in an attempt to undermine police authority, weaken its efficiency, and embarrass the government. It should be noted that the article was written by a confessed member of a wartime Communist espionage network. Unfortunately many readers were unaware of this fact. Here, again, I would say that, despite the Communist efforts against the police in this particular country, they have succeeded in protecting themselves and in continuing a bulwark against illegality and disorder.

Communism will work openly and legally where it can. But it will work secretly and illegally where it must. Its capability for conspiratorial work largely accounts for the survival of the international Communist conspiracy.

This international movement has developed a system of defensive measures to protect itself against the police, against intelligence agencies and against a hostile public. Knowledge of party activities is carefully compartmented. An intraparty detective service and a control commission guard against police penetration.

Plans for offensive action are carefully devised and except for minor local adaptations constitute a detailed blueprint for worldwide agitation.

I have here another group of illustrations from the handbook which will show how the Communists make use of an unorganized crowd. In addition to the agitators or action units, there is always, of course, an invisible cadre of hard-core activists, skilled in inciting mob action and in exploiting civil disorder.

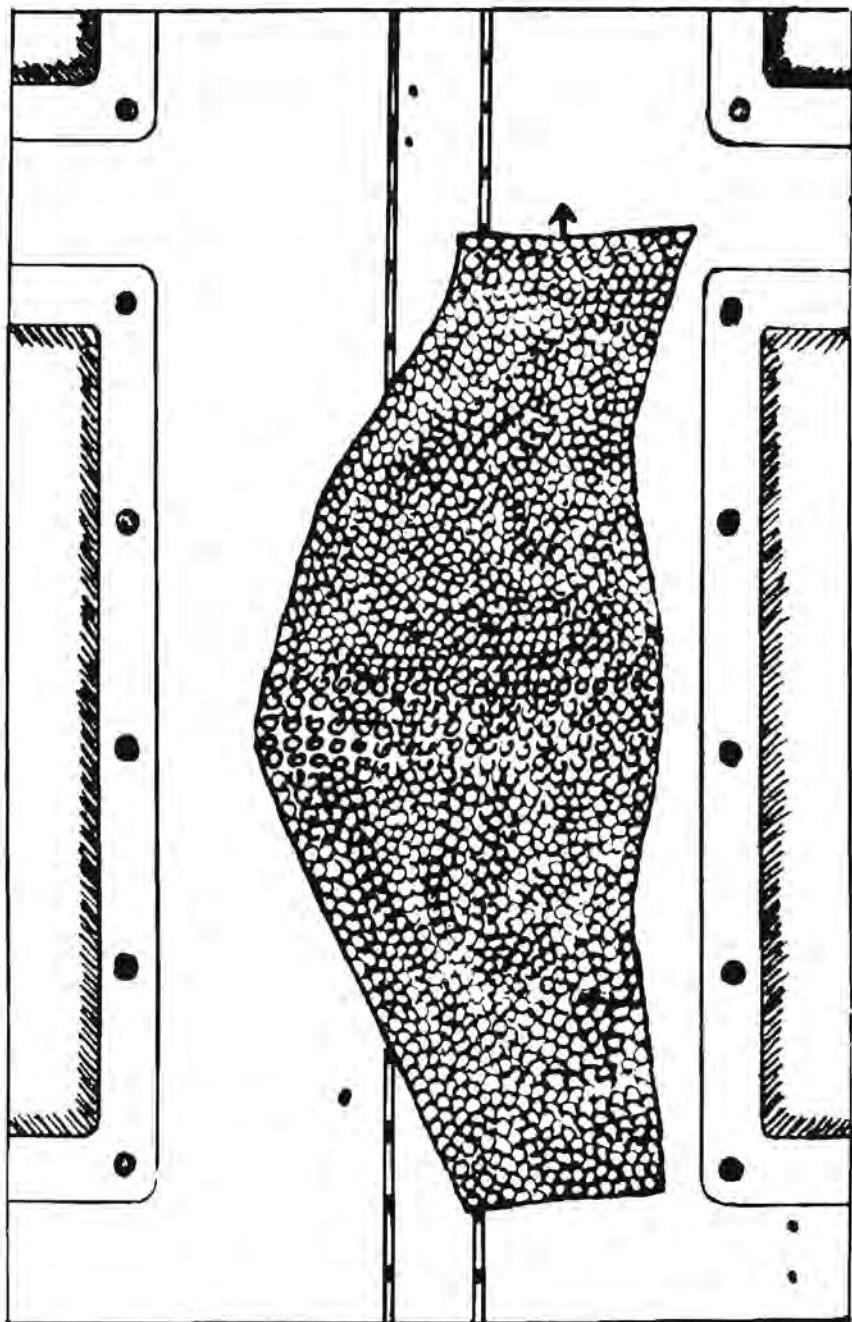


Illustration No. 19.—Shows an unorganized crowd being transformed into two organized groups.

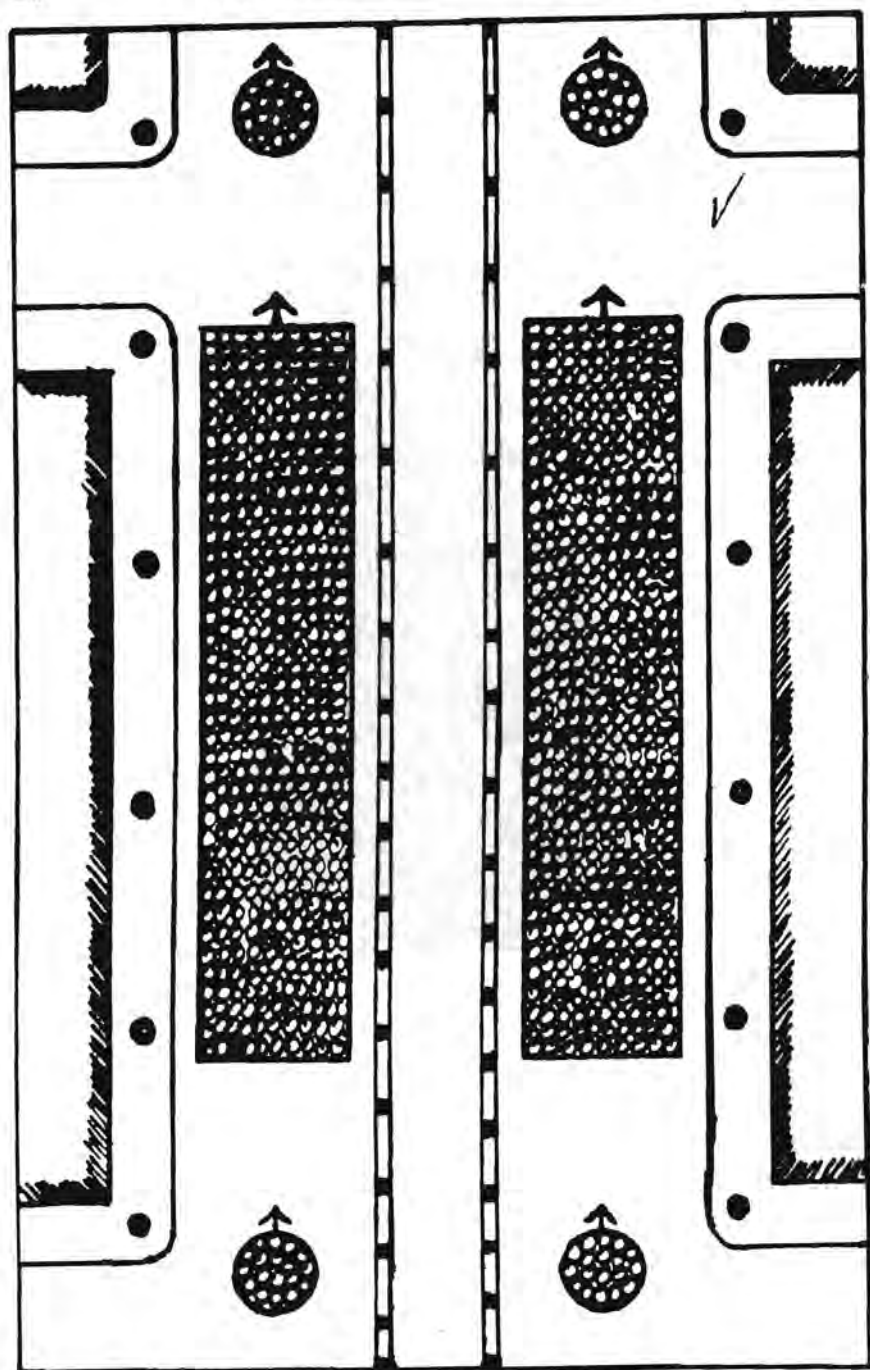


Illustration No. 20.—Shows the same crowd after being organized into two groups protected by advance action units.

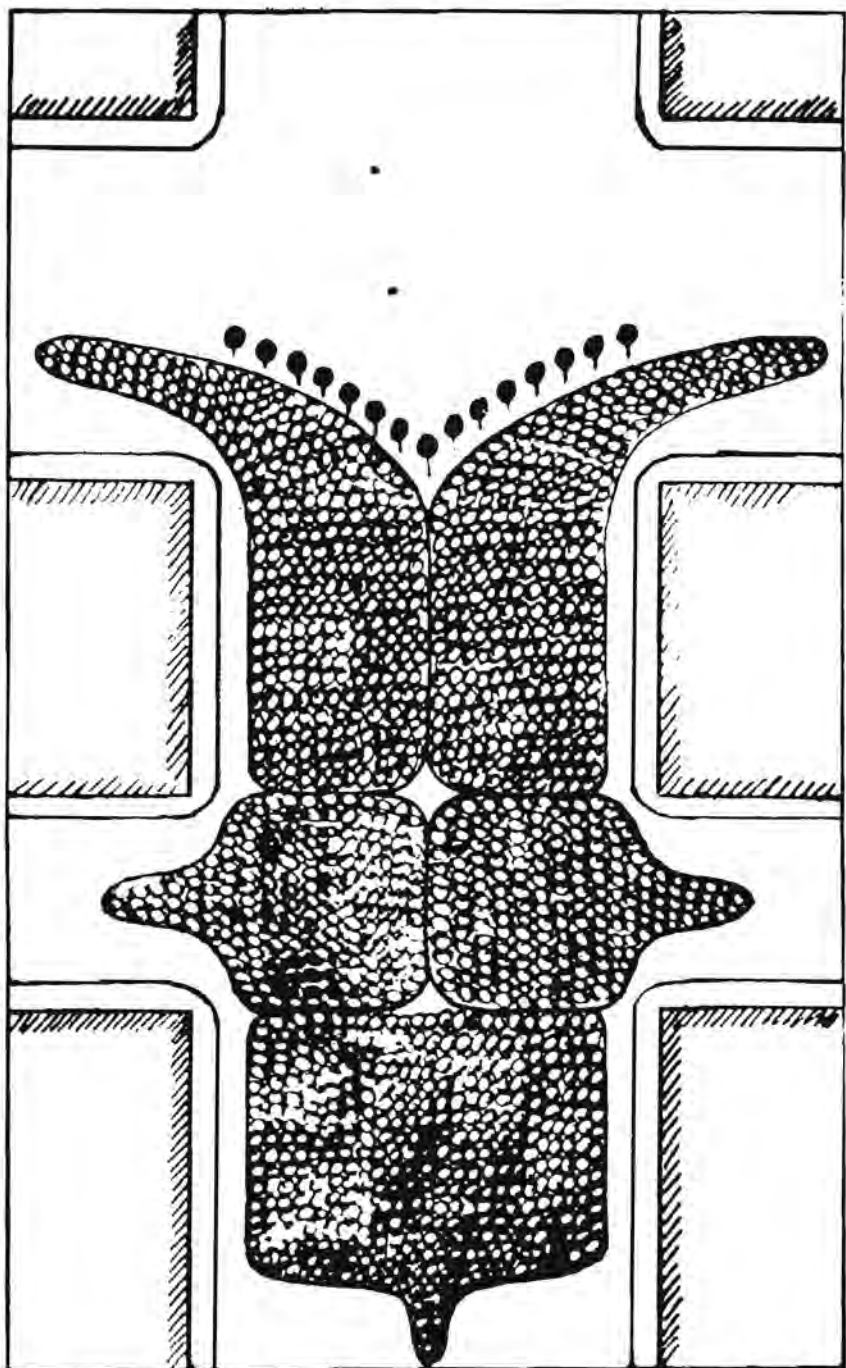


Illustration No. 21.—Shows that the police are starting to break up the crowd by driving into the center.

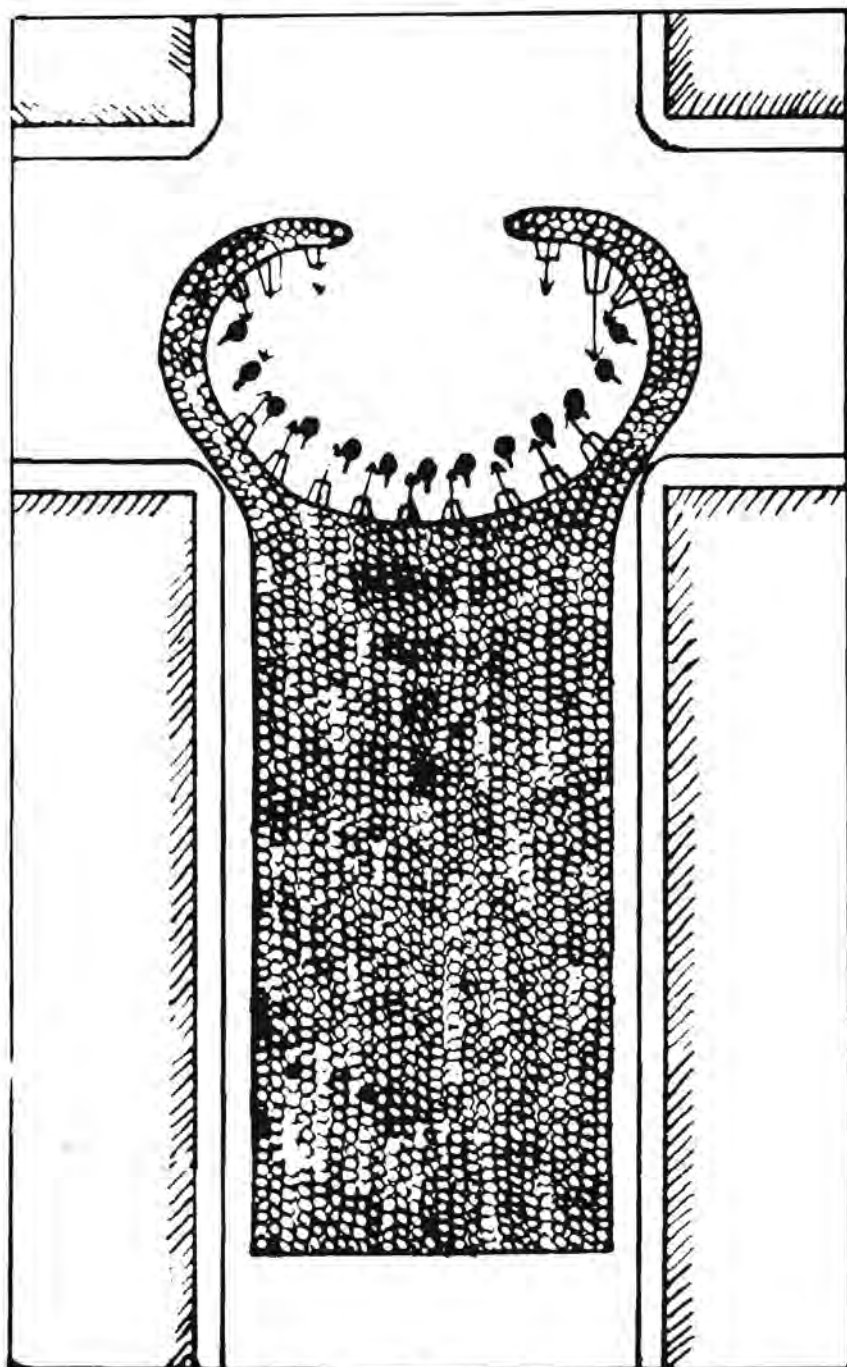


Illustration No. 22.—Shows the agitator how this maneuver can be thwarted by an envelopment movement.

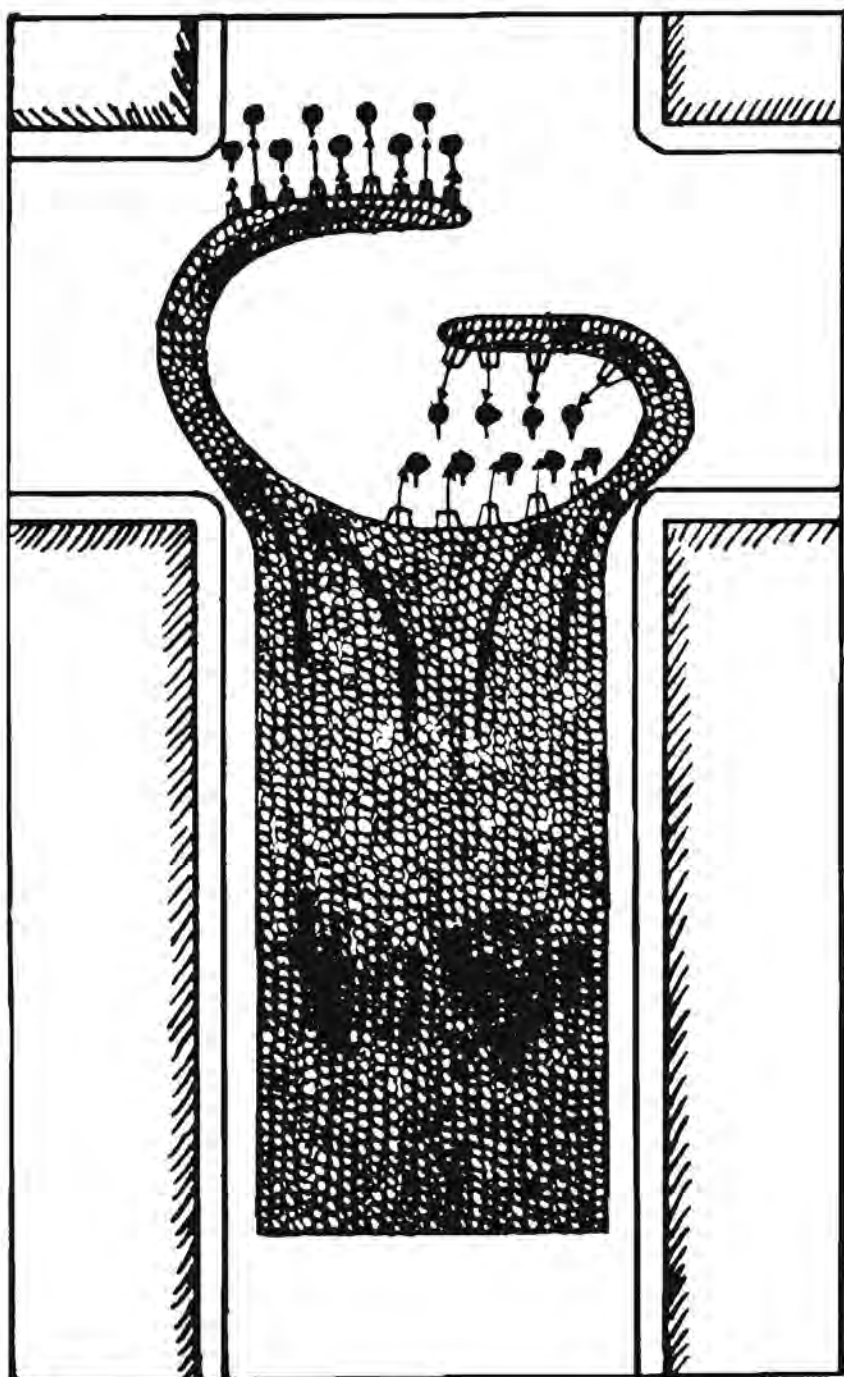


Illustration No. 23.—Shows that the crowd has succeeded in dividing the police into two units, will surround them and render them ineffective.

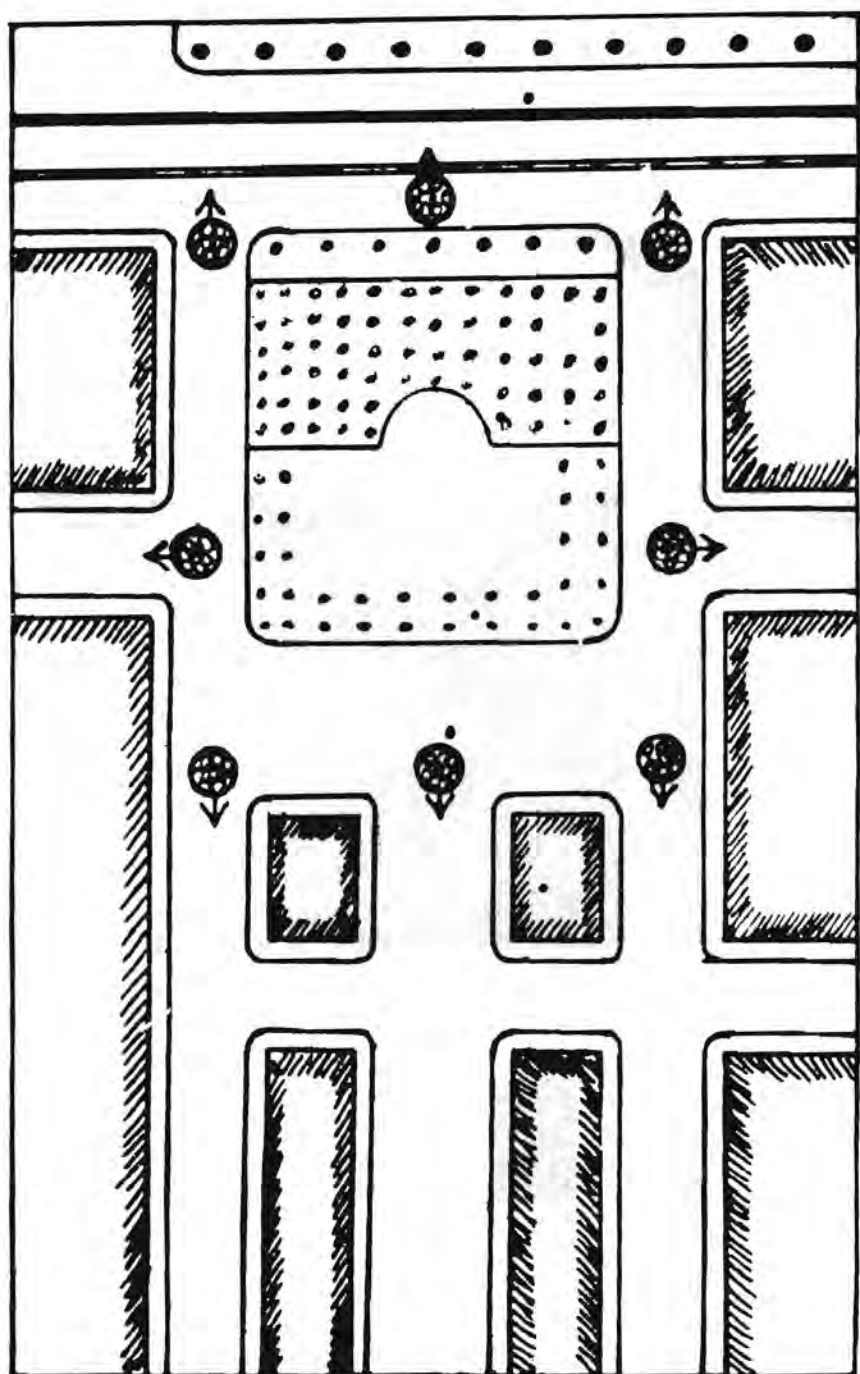


Illustration No. 24.—Gives the agitator an idea of how to protect a public meeting by stationing action units at the streets leading to the square in which the demonstration is being held.

Mr. KIRKPATRICK. Separate groups perform other functions for the party such as espionage, sabotage, liquidation, terror, riots, et cetera. When police measures become severe, they establish bases in another country and operate from there. They use every technique of clandestine activity. They are very strict about personal behavior: about alcoholism, private correspondence, friends, mode of living, behavior in case of arrest, professional competence as a clandestine operator.

I would mention here that the Communists will even use fiction in their attacks on the police. I am thinking particularly of one book published quite a few years ago in which there was a chapter devoted to the police with the obvious design of holding them up to ridicule and to undermine the respect of the people.

As a group, the police are among the most anti-Communist of the professional organizations in the free world. There is a natural antipathy between police and Communists. The police learn early in their careers that the Communist Party is not just another political movement but is an international conspiracy. Properly armed with knowledge of the techniques of Communist subversion; alert to the fact that no organization, no group of people, and no individual can be disregarded as a possible Communist target or tool; the police of the free world can counter the Red threat and drive these outlaws from the free world.

None of us should feel that the task is easy, nor that the victory will be quick. The Communists are a dangerous, fiendishly clever, ruthless, determined enemy, and their potential loot the biggest possible—control of the world. They will not give up this goal as long as they last.

The task of containing communism is not made easier by the lack of awareness on the part of many of the Communist threat. Thus one of the first tasks is education—to get the word to the people about the dangers of communism.

In some countries there is an absence of legislation defining "espionage," "sabotage," or "subversion." This plays into the hands of the Communists, and they will go to great extremes to prevent such legislation from being enacted. The absence of such laws puts the police in the position of the boxer whose hands are tied and who is sent into the ring against a killer.

In other countries there is inadequate enforcement of existing laws. And there are technical problems which further handicap police efforts against communism. These include lack of equipment, communications, records, a shortage of trained personnel, and too often an underpaid staff potentially vulnerable to subversion through the lure of money of which the Communists have plenty.

To solve problems such as these, the police must have the support of the government and of the people. In certain of the have-not countries of the free world, the building of a well-trained, disciplined police force, responsive to the needs and the will of the people, is a well-nigh impossible task without external economic and technical assistance. For some years the U.S. Government, through its mutual security program, has fought world communism with a many-pronged attack. It has sought to improve the economic well-being, raise the industrial capacity, and increase the internal security of friendly foreign countries vulnerable to Communist subversion or aggression.

Today there are active U.S. police assistance programs in 26 countries. These programs are designed to provide the police with equipment, communications, records, and transportation needed to do an effective job; to train them in the use of equipment and in modern techniques of patrol and investigation; and, perhaps more important, to instill in them the concept of public service which distinguishes our American police.

The Communists will exert every effort to prevent the development of a strong police force. They will pose as superpatriots, and ruthlessly slander those who oppose them. The Communists will pervert to their own use, words and phrases that have a common meaning in the Western World. Their slogan today is "Struggle for Peace" while they make any area of their choosing into bloody battlefields, turning neighbor against neighbor, and brother against brother.

If we are alert, if we are vigilant, if we are just, the victory will be to the free world. The Communist Party can be paralyzed by an efficient police force. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the police forces in the United States, as well as those of many other countries of the free world, have demonstrated this time and again.

The Communist attack on the police of the free world is dangerous for two reasons: The first is that the attacks are fanatical, disciplined, and skilled in underground methods. Here we can match them. We believe in our cause just as firmly, we are equally disciplined, and we know our jobs.

The second element of Communist strategy and technique is centralization. A campaign against the police of one free country is not planned and directed by the Communist Party of that country; it is planned and directed by the strategists of international communism. Vilification of the police by the Communist press in one country can be—and is—coordinated with plans to penetrate the police in an adjoining country. We can beat them at this game, too.

I attended recently a meeting of the International Association of the Chiefs of Police. Such meetings are the best kind of evidence of our common will to help one another. The more we share our experience, skills, and problems, the better we can deal with their tactics. They cannot divide and conquer, because we are united in the joint defense of our laws and liberties through common bonds. I am glad to have had an opportunity today to present my views to this subcommittee and to congratulate it on the thoughtful work it is doing.

Senator Dobb. Thank you, Mr. Kirkpatrick, in behalf of the subcommittee and of myself, particularly, for the very effective way in which you have turned the tables on the Communists in illustrating your most interesting discussion.

If there are no further questions, the committee will adjourn.





The background of W. Cleon Skousen includes sixteen years with the FBI, four years as Chief of Police of Salt Lake City and seven years as Editorial Director of LAW and ORDER, the most widely distributed police magazine in the United States.

Educated in the United States, Canada and Mexico, Mr. Skousen received his LLB (law) degree from George Washington University in Washington, D.C., and was admitted to practice law in the District of Columbia and the U.S. District Court of Appeals.

He entered the FBI in 1935 and served until 1951 when he accepted a position on the faculty of the Brigham Young University. In 1956 he was given a leave of absence to become Chief of Police in Salt Lake City where he served until 1960. **Time** magazine said he had "run a model police force." In the fall of 1960 Mr. Skousen became Editorial Director of the well-known independent police publication LAW and ORDER where he continues to serve at the present time.

Mr. Skousen is the author of several books, two of which have **gained** national recognition: **The Naked Communist**, which reached the **national** best seller list, and his more recent book,

So You Want to Raise a Boy.

He also travels and lectures extensively, having given talks in 31 foreign countries and 47 of the 50 states in the past five years. His largest audience was in the Hollywood Bowl where he spoke to 15,000 in 1961. The speech was televised and presented coast-to-coast.

Mr. Skousen and his wife, the former Jewel Pitcher of San Bernardino, California, are the parents of eight children and reside in Salt Lake City.

W. Cleon Skousen

